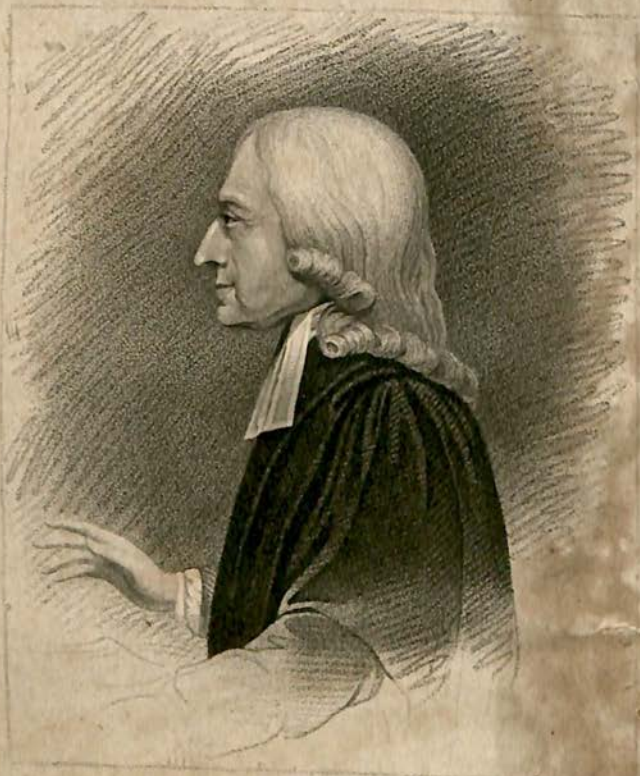
00025394

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 April, 2016

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY



W. T. Fry sculp.

Yours most affectionately
J Wesley

Published by Longman Hurst & Co. London, Jan. 1. 1810.

THE

LIFE OF WESLEY;

AND THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF

Methodism.

25394

By ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq.

POET LAUREATE,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SPANISH ACADEMY, OF THE ROYAL SPANISH ACADEMY OF HISTORY, AND OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF THE NETHERLANDS, &c.

Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse: but to weigh and consider.

Lord Bacon.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1820.

00025394

Printed by Strahan and Spottiswoode,
Printers-Street, London.

TO

SHARON TURNER,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS,

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

&c. &c.

THESE VOLUMES ARE INSCRIBED,

IN THE HOPE

THAT THE OPINIONS WHICH THEY EXPRESS WILL NOT BE

DISAPPROVED BY HIS JUDGEMENT ;

IN THE CERTAINTY

THAT THE FEELING WHICH PERVADES THEM IS CONGENIAL

WITH HIS OWN ;

AND IN MEMORIAL

OF TRUE RESPECT AND FRIENDSHIP.

PREFACE.

I HAVE had no private sources of information in composing the present work. The materials are derived chiefly from the following books:—

Life of the Rev. JOHN WESLEY, A.M. including an Account of the Great Revival of Religion in Europe and America, of which he was the first and chief Instrument. By Dr. COKE and Mr. MOORE. 8vo. London, 1792.

Life of the Rev. JOHN WESLEY, M.A. collected from his private Papers and printed Works, and written at the request of his Executors. To which is prefixed, some Account of his Ancestors and Relations: with the Life of the Rev. CHARLES WESLEY, M.A. collected from his private Journal, and never before published. The whole forming a History of Methodism, in which the Principles and Economy of the Methodists are unfolded. Copied chiefly from a London edition published by JOHN WHITEHEAD, M.D. 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin, 1805.

Memoirs of the late Rev. JOHN WESLEY, A.M. with a Review of his Life and Writings; and a History of Methodism, from its commencement in 1729 to the present time. By JOHN HAMPSON, A.B. 3 vols. 12mo. Sunderland, 1791.

Original Letters, by the Rev. JOHN WESLEY and his Friends, illustrative of his early History, with other curious Papers. Communicated by the late Rev. S. Badcock; to which is prefixed, an Address to the Methodists. By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. Birmingham, 1791. 8vo.

The Works of the Rev. JOHN WESLEY, 16 vols. 8vo. London, 1809.

Sermons, by the late Rev. CHARLES WESLEY, A.M. Student of Christchurch, Oxford. With a Memoir of the Author, by the Editor. Crown 8vo. London, 1816.

Minutes of the Methodist Conference, from the First held in London by the late Rev. John Wesley, A. M. in the Year 1744. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1812.

Arminian Magazine (now called the Methodist Magazine) from its commencement.

A Chronological History of the People called Methodists, of the Connection of the late Rev. John Wesley, from their Rise in the Year 1729 to their last Conference in the Year 1802. By WILLIAM MYLES. 12mo. London, 1803.

A Portraiture of Methodism; or, the History of the Wesleyan Methodists, showing their Rise, Progress, and present State; Biographical Sketches of some of their most eminent Ministers; the Doctrines the Methodists believe and teach, fully and explicitly stated; with the whole Plan of their Discipline, including their Original Rules and subsequent Regulations. Also a Defence of Methodism. By JONATHAN CROWTHER, who has been upwards of thirty years a travelling Preacher among them. 8vo. London, 1815.

A Portraiture of Methodism: being an impartial View of the Rise, Progress, Doctrines, Discipline, and Manners of the Wesleyan Methodists. In a Series of Letters, addressed to a Lady. By JOSEPH NIGHTINGALE. 8vo. London, 1807.

Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A. M. of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon; faithfully selected from his Original Papers,

Journals, and Letters; illustrated by a variety of interesting Anecdotes from the best authorities. By the late Rev. J. GILLIES, D.D. Minister of the College Church of Glasgow. Second edition, with large additions and improvements. 8vo. London, 1813.

The Works of the Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, M.A. &c. Containing all his Sermons and Tracts which have been already published; with a select Collection of Letters, written to his most intimate Friends and Persons of Distinction in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, from the Year 1734 to 1770, including the whole Period of his Ministry. Also, some other Pieces on important Subjects, never before printed, prepared by himself for the Press. 6 vols. 8vo. London, 1771.

The Two First Parts of his Life, with his Journals. Revised, corrected, and abridged by GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A.B. Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon. 12mo. London, 1756.

Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Rev. CORNELIUS WINTER; compiled and composed by WILLIAM JAY. 12mo. London, 1809. (This volume contains a much more interesting account of Whitefield than is to be found in any Life of him that has yet been published.

The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren, or a Succinct Narrative of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, or *Unitas Fratrum*, in the remoter Ages, and particularly in the present Century. Written in German by DAVID CRANZ, Author of the History of Greenland; now translated into English, with Emendations, and published with some additional Notes, by BENJAMIN LATROBE. 8vo. London, 1780.

A candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters, commonly called Moravians, or *Unitas Fratrum*, with a short Account of their Doctrines, drawn from

their own Writings. To which are added, Observations on their Politics in General, and particularly on their Conduct whilst in the County of Büdingen, in the Circle of the Upper Rhine in Germany. By HENRY RIMIUS, Aulic Counsellor to his late Majesty the King of Prussia, and Author of the Memoirs of the House of Brunswick. The Second Edition, in which the Latin Appendix in the first edition is rendered into English. 8vo. London, 1753.

A True and Authentic Account of Andrew Frey: containing the Occasion of his coming among the Herrnhuters or Moravians; his Observations on their Conferences, Casting Lots, Marriages, Festivals, Merriments, Celebrations of Birth Days, Impious Doctrines and Fantastical Practices, Abuse of Charitable Contributions, Linen Images, Ostentatious Profuseness and Rancour against any who in the least differ from them; and the Reasons for which he left them; together with the Motive for publishing this Account. Faithfully translated from the German. 8vo. London, 1753.

A Solemn Call on Count Zinzendorf, the Author and Advocate of the Sect of Herrnhuters, commonly called Moravians, to answer all and every Charge brought against them in the Candid Narrative, &c.; with some further Observations on the Spirit of that Sect. By HENRY RIMIUS. 8vo. London, 1754.

The Moravians Compared and Detected. By the Author of the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared. 8vo. London, 1755.

An Extract from the Journal of Mr. JOHN NELSON, Preacher of the Gospel. Containing an Account of God's dealings with him from his Youth to the 42d Year of his Age. Written by himself. 24mo. London, 1813.

The Life and Death of Mr. THOMAS WALSH, Minister of the Gospel; composed in great Part from his own Accounts. By JAMES MORGAN, 12mo. London, 1811.

The Life and Writings of the late Rev. WILLIAM GRIMSHAW, A.B. Minister of Haworth, in the West Riding of the County of York. By WILLIAM MYLES. 12mo. 1813.

The Life of the Rev. THOMAS COKE, LL.D.: including in detail, his various Travels and extraordinary Missionary Exertions in England, Ireland, America, and the West Indies; with an Account of his Death, on the 3d of May, 1814, while on a Missionary Voyage to the Island of Ceylon, in the East Indies. Interspersed with numerous Reflections, and concluding with an Abstract of his Writings and Character. By SAMUEL DREW, of St. Austell, Cornwall. 8vo. London, 1817.

Extracts of the Journals of the Rev. Dr. COKE's Five Visits to America. 12mo. 1793.

A History of the West Indies; containing the Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical History of each Island: with an Account of the Missions instituted in those Islands, from the Commencement of their Civilisation; but more especially of the Missions which have been established in that Archipelago, by the Society late in Connection with the Rev. John Wesley. By THOMAS COKE, LL.D. of the University of Oxford. 8vo. 3 vols. Vol. 1. Liverpool, 1808; Vol. 2. London, 1810; Vol. 3. London, 1811.

The Experience and Gospel Labours of the Rev. BENJAMIN ABBOTT; to which is annexed, a Narrative of his Life and Death; also, Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. John Wesley. By JOHN FIRTH. 12mo. Philadelphia. Liverpool (reprinted), 1809.

The Life of the Rev. JOHN WILLIAM DE LA FLECHERE, compiled from the Narrative of the Rev. Mr. Wesley; the Biographical Notes of the Rev. Mr. GILPIN; from his own Letters; and other authentic Documents. By JOSEPH BENSON. 8vo. London, 1817.

The Works of the Rev. JOHN FLETCHER. In 10 vols. 8vo. London, 1815.

The Works of AUGUSTUS TOPLADY, A.B. late Vicar of Broad Hembury, Devon. In Six Volumes, 8vo. London, 1794.

The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared. In Three Parts. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1754.

The Doctrine of Grace; or, the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the Insults of Infidelity and the Abuses of Fanaticism: with some Thoughts (humbly offered to the Consideration of the Established Clergy) regarding the Right Method of defending Religion against the attacks of either Party. In Three Books. In the Fourth Volume of Bishop Warburton's Works.

Various Volumes of the Gospel Magazine.

I am not conscious of having left any thing undone for rendering the present work as little incomplete as it was in my power to make it; and I have represented facts as I found them, with scrupulous fidelity, neither extenuating nor exaggerating any thing. Of the opinions of the writer, the reader will judge according to his own; but whatever his judgement may be upon that point, he will acknowledge that, in a book of this kind, the opinions of an author are of less consequence than his industry, his accuracy, and his sense of duty.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

CHAP. I.

Page

Bartholomew Wesley, great grandfather of John, an ejected minister - - - - - - 4
John, son of Bartholomew, ejected and imprisoned. He dies early - - - - - - - 5
Samuel, son of John, leaves the Dissenters, and enters at Exeter College, Oxford - - - - - 7
Marries Susannah Annesley. - - - - 8
Preaches against Popery under James II. - - 10
Holds the livings of Epworth and Wroote - - 11
John Wesley born at Epworth - - - - 12
Providentially preserved from fire - - - 13
Birth of his brother Charles - - - - - 14
Mrs. Wesley holds religious meetings on Sunday evenings, during her husband's absence - - 15
Correspondence with her husband upon this subject 16
Her particular care to breed up John in religious principles - - - - - - - 19
Samuel, the elder brother, an usher at Westminster - 20
Charles educated at Westminster - - - - 21
John at the Charter-house - - - - 21
Preternatural noises in the parsonage at Epworth - 21
Wesley's spare diet and regular exercise while a schoolboy - - - - - - - - - 28
His annual visit to the Charter-house - - - 28

CHAP. II.

Wesley is entered at Christchurch, Oxford - - 30
His skill in logic - - - - - - - 30
He hesitates about taking orders - - - 31

Page

Effect produced upon him by the treatise *De Imitatione Christi* - - - - - - - 32
and by Bishop Taylor's Holy Living and Dying - - - - 34
His opinions of Christian humility - - - 36
Of Predestination - - - - 37
He is ordained in 1725 - - - - 38
Elected Fellow of Lincoln - - - 39
Greek Lecturer, and Moderator of the Classes 40
Distribution of his studies - - - 41
He longs for retirement - - - - 42
Officiates at Wroote as his father's curate - 43
Charles Wesley refuses to go to Ireland with one who would have adopted him for his name's sake - 44
Charles takes a religious turn at Oxford - - 45
He and his associates are called Methodists - 46
Morgan, one of these first Methodists - - - 47
Birth and boyhood of Whitefield - - - 48
Officiates as drawer at his mother's inn - - 49
Goes as a Servitor to Pembroke College, Oxford - 51
Becomes one of the Methodists - - - 52
Their mode of life and self-examination - 53
Wesley the father encourages them - - 55
John becomes acquainted with William Law - - 56
The two brothers travel on foot, and converse in Latin 58
Wesley doubts the lawfulness of worldly studies - 59
Defends himself against the charge of singularity - 60
Wears his hair loose and unpowdered - - 61
Reduces himself to a dangerous state of weakness 63
Samuel accepts the mastership of Tiverton school - 63
John is urged to apply for the succession to his father's living - - - - - - 65
His reasons for choosing to continue at Oxford - 68

CHAP. III.

Death of Samuel Wesley the father - - - 72
Wesley consents to go out to the new colony in Georgia 74
He thinks it easy to convert the Savages - - 75
Charles takes orders, and accompanies him - - 76
Delamotte and Ingham their companions - - 76

Page
Moravians on board the ship - - - - - 77
Wesley advises his brother Samuel to discard the classics from his school - - - - 78
Their rule of life on board - - - - 79
Equanimity of the Moravians - - - - 80
Establishment of the British colony in Georgia - - 81
Situation of Savannah - - - - - 82
Speech of Tomo-Chichi - - - - - - 83
Creek Indians in England - - - - - 84
Laws of the colony - - - - - - 87
Wesley's interview with the Moravian pastor Spangenberg 89
His interview with Tomo-Chichi - - - 92
He preaches against vanity in dress - - 94
Insists upon a rigid observance of the Rubric - 95
Charles becomes obnoxious to the people at Frederica 97
Oglethorpe treats him unkindly - - - 100
Falls ill, and sends for his brother - - - 102
Is reconciled to Oglethorpe - - - 103
Returns to England - - - - - - - 105
Wesley in love with Sophia Causton - - - 106
The Moravians forbid him to marry her - - 109
She marries Mr. Williamson - - - - 110
Wesley rebukes her - - - - - - 114
He repels her from the Communion - - 115
Williamson prosecutes him for this - - - 116
He leaves Savannah - - - - - 123
Is lost in the woods - - - - 124
Embarks for England - - - - - 124
His state of mind on the voyage - - - 125
He lands at Deal, and describes his own imperfect state of faith - - - - - - 132
Advantages which he derived from his mission to Georgia - - - - - - 134

CHAP. IV.

Wesley exhorts Whitefield not to pursue his voyage, in consequence of a lot which he had cast - 136
Whitefield's excess of devotion at Oxford - - - 138
He experiences the new birth - - - 139
Is ordained at Gloucester - - - - 141

Page
Whitefield officiates in London with success - - 144
Officiates in a village in Hampshire - - - 145
Resolves to go to Georgia - - - - 146
Preaches at Bristol - - - - - - 147
Becomes exceedingly popular in that city - - 149
His qualifications as an orator - - - - 150
Followed by crowds in London - - - - 151
Excites jealousy concerning his doctrine - - 152
Wesley arrives in London as soon as Whitefield leaves it 154
Wesley meets Peter Boehler - - - - - 154
Boehler convinces him of unbelief - - - - 155
Wesley begins to exhort people as he travels - - 156
He resolves not to confine himself to a form of prayer - - - - - - - - 157
Is persuaded by Boehler, that conversion must be an instantaneous work - - - - - 158
The Methodists in London are formed into bands - 160
Their rules - - - - - - - - 161
Wesley writes to Mr. Law, reproaching him for not having taught him the necessity of a saving faith - 162
Law's answer - - - - - - - - - 164
Charles Wesley is *converted* - - - - - 167
Wesley's conversion - - - - - - 168
His conduct at Mr. Hutton's - - - - 169
Mrs. Hutton complains to Samuel - - - - 170
Samuel's remarks upon the conduct of his two brothers 171
Wesley sets out for Herrnhut - - - - - 174

CHAP. V.

The Bohemian Church - - - - - - 175
Effect of Wickliffe's writings - - - - - 176
Religious wars - - - - - - - 177
Expulsion of the Protestants - - - - - 178
Comenius writes the history of his Church - - 179
Christian David incites the Protestants to emigrate - 181
He obtains permission for them to settle on Zinzendorf's estates - - - - - - - 181
Count Zinzendorf - - - - - - 182
They name this settlement Herrnhut - 184

Page.

Debate whether they shall join the Lutheran Church, decided by lot - - - - - - - 188
Zinzendorf banished - - - - - - - 189
He enters into orders - - - - - - 190
Wesley visits him at Marienborn - - - - 190
His opinions concerning Justification - - - 192
Wesley proceeds to Herrnhut - - - - - 196
Discipline of the Moravians - - - - - 196
Their scandalous language at one time - - 203
Wesley hears Christian David preach - - - 205
He returns to England - - - - - - 208

CHAP. VI.

Wesley addresses an epistle to the Church of Herrnhut 210
He objects to the Count's authority - - - 211
His opinion of his own spiritual state - - - 212
Delamotte censures him - - - - - - 216
He accompanies some criminals to Tyburn - - 217
Interview with Bishop Gibson - - - - 219
Charles Wesley's second interview - - - - - 220
Raptures of the converts - - - - - - 222
Whitefield returns from Georgia to raise contributions for building an orphan-house there - - - 226
Love-feasts in Fetter-lane - - - - - - 228
Whitefield thinks of preaching without-doors, because the church was not large enough for his hearers 229
He goes to Bristol - - - - - - - - 229
Preaches out of doors to the colliers in Kingswood 230
He resolves to preach in defiance of ecclesiastical authority - - - - - - - - - 231
He longs for persecution - - - - - - 233
He invites Wesley to take his place at Bristol - 237
Wesley consults the Bible upon the subject - - 237

CHAP. VII.

Wesley at Bristol - - - - - - - - 242
Whitefield lays the first stone of a school for the colliers' children at Kingswood - - - - - 243

Page
Wesley commences field-preaching after Whitefield's example - - - - - 244
Paroxysms of Methodism - - - - 245
Case of Thomas Haydon - - - - 248
Correspondence with his brother Samuel - - 256
Conversion of John Maxfield - - - 261
Exultation of Wesley at the effect which he produces - 260
Bands formed - - - - - - 262
First Meeting-house built - - - - 262
Wesley is called to London - - - - 264

CHAP. VIII.

Lay-preaching contended for - - - 266
Opposed by Charles Wesley - - - 267
Whitefield in Moorfields - - - - 267
Wesley at Blackheath - - - - - 270
Fits in London - - - - - - 271
Origin of the French Prophets - - - 272
They produce disputes among the Methodists - 279
Whitefield produces the same paroxysms as Wesley - 281
Samuel argues against these extravagancies - - 282
Wesley accused of being a Papist - - - 287
Character of Charles Wesley's preaching - - 288
Ceremonies at an evening meeting - - - 289
Wesley's mother becomes a convert - - - 291
Letter from Samuel on that occasion - - 292
Death of Samuel Wesley - - - - 294
Wesley's view of the difference between himself and the Clergy - - - - - 296
Cases of supposed possession - - - - 298
Charles less credulous than his brother - - 303

CHAP. IX.

View of the history of Christianity in England - 305
Christianity long confined to cities - - - 306
Imperfect conversion of the people - - - 307
Paganism recruited in this island by the Saxons and Danes - - - - - 309
Advantages of the Papacy - - - - 311

Page
Corruption of the Roman Church - - - - 312
Reformation - - - - - 313
Number of Clergy injuriously diminished - - 314
Clergy impoverished - - - - - 316
Conforming Clergy at the Reformation - - 316
The sequestered Clergy - - - - 319
State of the Church at the Restoration - - - 321
Evil produced by conforming Puritans, and by the ejectment of sincerer Men - - - 322
Conduct of the Clergy - - - - - - 323
Misapplication of the fines - - - - 323
Decay of discipline - - - - - - 324
Want of zeal - - - - - - - 325
In part owing to the constitution of the Church - 326
Its want of auxiliaries - - - - - 327
Growth of towns - - - - - 328
Growth of infidelity - - - - - 329
Exertions against Popery - - - - 330
Advantages of the Reformation - - - 331
Ignorance of the lower orders - - - - 333
Measures required for completing the Reformation - 333
Wesley's immediate object - - - - - 334
His hopes and indefinite prospects - - - 335

CHAP. X.

Difference with the Moravians - - - - 337
Molther opposes certain errors of Wesley - - 337
He advances others in opposition to them - - 338
Wesley repairs to London in consequence - - 339
The difference becomes greater - - - 341
He prepares for a separation, and provides a place of meeting at the Foundry - - - - 343
Extravagant language of the Moravians - - - 345
Wesley withdraws from them - - - - - 346
He addresses an epistle to the Moravian Church - 347
Many of his friends adhere to the Brethren - - 348
Peter Boehler arrives in England - - - - 349
Wesley confers with him and Spangenberg - - 358
Re-union ineffectually proposed - - - - 352
Conference between Wesley and Zinzendorf - - 353

Page
Wesley proclaims the breach to the world - - 355
Dedicates the Journal in which this is done to the Moravian Church - - - - - - 355
Changes his tone, and censures the Moravians - - 357
Accredits the calumnies against them - - - 358
Whitefield writes against them - - - - 359

CHAP. XI.

Whitefield differs from Wesley concerning predestination, and wishes to avoid the dispute - - 362
Writes from America to express his difference of opinion 363
Acourt brings the question forward in London - 365
Wesley publishes his sermon against predestination - 367
Whitefield assumes a tone of superiority - - - 367
Extravagance of Whitefield's language - - - 368
He still affects to look for persecution - - - 369
Reproves Wesley for his notions of perfection, and for not owning election - - - - - 370
Exhorts him to be humble - - - - - 371
Writes against him - - - - - - - 373
Copies of his letters distributed at the Foundry - 375
Cennick employed at Kingswood - - - - 376
Writes to Whitefield, complaining that the Wesleys preached false doctrines - - - - 376
Wesley charges him with this - - - - 379
Excludes Cennic and his party - - - - 380
Whitefield sails for England - - - - - 381
Finds his popularity diminished - - - - 383
Is under pecuniary embarrassments - - - 384
Correspondence with Wesley - - - - 385
Breach between them - - - - - - - 387

CHAP. XII.

Charles Wesley inclined to the Moravians - - - 388
Wesley's feeling of discontent in youth - - - 389
Steps towards schism - - - - - - - 391
Class-money - - - - - - - 392
Class-leaders - - - - - - - - 393
Itinerancy - - - - - - - - - 396

Page
Field-preaching - - - - - - - - 398
Lay-preachers - - - - - - - - 400
Resisted at first by the Wesleys - - - 401
Necessity of assistants - - - - - 402
Thomas Maxfield - - - - - - - 403
Wesley hears him preach, and assents to the practice 404
John Nelson - - - - - - - 404
Wesley visits him at Birstall - - - - 415
Wesley goes to Newcastle - - - - - 416

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Physic practised by the Clergy in former times - - 426
Dr. Owen - - - - - - - - 429
Mrs. Wesley's method of teaching her children to read - 429
Wesley not educated at Westminster - - - 431
Fires - - - - - - - - - 431
Sacheverel's Defence - - - - - - 432
Original Accounts of the Disturbances, by Jeffery, at Epworth - - - - - - - 432
Thomas à Kempis - - - - - - 466
Methodists, not a new name - - - - - 467
Expenses of the University - - - - 468
Wesley's scheme of self-examination - - - 469
Behmenists in England - - - - - 472
William Law - - - - - - - 472
Baptism by Immersion - - - - - 474
Members of the colony in Georgia - - - 474
Coincidence of opinion between Wesley and South - 479
Philip Henry's opinion concerning the exact time of conversion - - - - - - 478
Comenius - - - - - - - - 478
Moravian Marriages - - - - - - 479
Fanatical language of the Moravians - - - 479
Zinzendorf's notion that all souls are female - - 484
Doctrine of Assurance - - - - - 485
Thomas Haliburton - - - - - - 486
Ravings of the persecuted Hugonots - - - 488
Late continuance of the Druidical superstitions - 489
Preaching at a Cross - - - - - - 489

Page
Hobbes's parallel between the Romish Clergy and the Fairies - - - - - - - - 489
Plunder of the Church at the Reformation - - 492
Miserable state of the inferior clergy in the first age after the Reformation - - - - - 493
Means for assisting poor scholars diminished - - 497
Conforming clergy at the Reformation - - - 498
Ignorance of the country clergy - - - - 499
Clergy of Charles the First's age - - - - 499
The sequestered clergy - - - - - - 500
Conforming Puritans - - - - - - - 501
Effect of religion in changing the heart - - 503
Dialogue between Wesley and Zinzendorf - - 504
Charges against the Moravians - - - - 507
Puritanical language - - - - - - 508
Extravagancies at Kingswood - - - - 508
System of itinerancy proposed by the fanatics of Cromwell's time, as a substitute for the Establishment 510
First lay-preachers - - - - - - - - 511

VOL. II.

CHAP. XIII.

State of Methodism - - - - - - 1
Death of Mrs. Wesley - - - - - 3
Wesley's sisters - - - - - - 4
Conduct of his brother-in-law Hall - - - 5
His sister Wright - - - - - - 13
His brother-in-law Whitelamb - - - 16
Wesley preaches upon his father's grave - - 17
Letter from Whitelamb - - - - - 18
Converts at Epworth - - - - - 20
The curate at Epworth refuses to administer the sacrament to Wesley - - - - - 22

CHAP. XIV.

Offence taken at the extravagance of the Methodists - 23
Wesley relates miracles - - - - - 24

Page
Reports concerning him - - - - - - 25
Charles Wesley taken up for a Jacobite - - 26
John Wesley and Beau Nash - - - - 28
Riots at Bristol. - - - - - - - 29
Outrages at Wednesbury - - - - 30
John Nelson pressed for a soldier - - - 37
Gross misconduct of the magistrates - - - 37
Nelson's enthusiasm and courage - - - 40
The Countess of Huntingdon obtains his discharge - 43
Maxfield pressed in Cornwall - - - - 45
Wesley attacked by the mob in Cornwall - - 46
Charles Wesley in danger at Devizes - - - 47
Wesley's appeal concerning field-preaching - - 49

CHAP. XV.

Scenes of itinerancy - - - - - 51
Wesley and John Nelson in Cornwall - - 52
Chance-converts - - - - - - 55
Effects of field-preaching - - - - 61
Wesley's love of the poor - - - - - 65
His opinion of the higher classes - - - 66
Dislike of the farmers - - - - 67
Instability of his converts - - - - 69

CHAP. XVI.

Wesley's lay-coadjutors - - - - 73
He justifies himself for admitting them - - - 75
Advises them to read - - - - - - 77
But not to affect the praise of learning - - 79
Defends them from the charge of being ignorant - 80
His management of them - - - 81
Their ready obedience instanced in the case of John Jane 82
Some of the first preachers withdraw - - - 83
Conversion of John Furz - - - - 84
Of John Thorpe - - - - - - 85

CHAP. XVII.

John Oliver - - - - - - - 86
Severity of his father - - - - - 89

Page
Falls into despair, and throws himself into the river - 90
Attempts suicide a second time - - - 90
Runs away from home - - - - - - - 91
Is permitted to follow his own course, and becomes a preacher - - - - - - 92
JOHN PAWSON - - - - - - 92
Opposed by his father - - - - - 95
His vindication of himself - - - - 96
The father is converted - - - - - 97
Pawson becomes melancholy - - - - 98
He receives the assurance - - - - 99
Becomes a preacher - - - - - 100
ALEXANDER MATHER - - - - - - 100
Joins the Rebels in 1745 - - - - - 100
Is delivered to justice by his father - - - 101
Goes to London, and marries there - - - 101
Objects to working at his business as a baker on Sundays 102
Is admitted by Wesley to preach - - - - 104
Excessive exertions at this time - - - 106
Cruelly used by a mob - - - - - 106
Account of the change wrought in him by religion - 107
THOMAS OLIVERS - - - - - - 108
A reprobate boy and young man - - - 109
Affected by hearing Whitefield - - - - 110
Rejected by one of Whitefield's preachers - - 112
Attends the Methodists - - - - - 112
His exertions as a preacher - - - - - 113
Suffers dreadfully from the small-pox - - - 114
Pays all his debts - - - - - - 115
Attacked by the mob at Yarmouth - - - 117
His deliberation concerning marriage - - - 118

CHAP. XVIII.

JOHN HAIME - - - - - - - - 122
His first stage of doubt and despair - - - 123
In the act of committing blasphemy, he is frightened by a bustard - - - - - - 124
Enlists as a soldier - - - - - - 125
Is driven to despair by one of Whitefield's preachers 126
Charles Wesley comforts him - - - - 126

Page
Goes to the Continent - - - - - 127
Forms a society in the army in Flanders - - 128
Brings one of his comrades to a court-martial for blasphemy - - - - - - 129
Is in the battle of Fontenoy - - - - 130
His second state of despair - - - - 131
He continues to preach, notwithstanding - - 133
Admitted as a travelling preacher - - - 134
The disease leaves him when an old man - - 136
He dies in the fulness of hope - - - 136
SAMPSON STANIFORTH - - - - 136
His profligate life in the army - - - 137
Converted through the means of a comrade - - 139
Describes a vision, in which he is persuaded that his sins are forgiven - - - - 141
Marries, and leaves the army - - - 143
Settles as a preacher - - - - 144
His happy old age - - - - - - 144
GEORGE STORY - - - - - - - 145
His miscellaneous reading - - - - 146
His search after happiness - - - - 147
Becomes an unbeliever - - - - 148
Uneasiness of his mind - - - - 150
Reasons with the Methodists - - - 151
Joins them from the workings of his own mind - 152
Never becomes an enthusiast - - - - 153

CHAP. XIX.

Provision for the lay-preachers - - - - 154
Allowance for their wives - - - - 155
Wesley establishes a school at Kingswood - - 157
System of education there - - - - - 159
Lady Maxwell - - - - - - - 161
Ill management of the school - - - - - 163
Conference of the preachers - - - - - 164

CHAP. XX.

Wesley's doctrines and opinions - - - - 166
The moral or Adamic law - - - - 167

Page

Spiritual death, or the death of the soul a consequence of the Fall - 168
Hence the necessity of a new birth - 171
Justification - 172
Sanctification - 173
Instantaneous deliverance from sin - 174
Salvation by faith - 175
What is faith? - 176
Revelation, a perpetual thing - 177
The inward evidence of Christianity - 178
Faith, the free gift of God - 179
Witness of the Spirit - 180
Assurance reasonably explained - 182
Perfection - 183
Chain of beings - 186
Diabolical agency - 187
Day of judgement - 188
The Millennium - 188
Opinions concerning the brute creation - 189
Wesley's perfect charity - 192

CHAP. XXI.

Discipline of the Methodists - 197
Wesley's supremacy - 198
Circuits - 201
Helpers, in what manner admitted - 201
The twelve rules of a Helper - 202
Forbidden to engage in trade - 204
Advice respecting their diet - 206
Frequent change of preachers - 207
Early preaching - 209
Local preachers - 211
Leaders - 211
Bands - 212
Select bands - 214
Watch-nights - 215
Love-feasts - 217
Settlement of the chapels - 218
Their structure and plan - 220
Psalmody - 221

CHAP. XXII.

Page
Methodism in Wales - - - - - 224
Origin of the Jumpers - - - - - 225
Methodism in Scotland - - - - - 226
Whitefield invited thither - - - - - 226
Conduct of the Associate Presbytery of the Seceders towards him - - - - - 227
Attacked from the pulpit at Aberdeen - - - 230
His success in Scotland - - - - - 231
Finds access to people of rank - - - - 232
Whitefield's talents not to be estimated by his printed works - - - - - 233
His manner of preaching - - - - 234
Scene at Cambuslang - - - - 241
Opposition of the Seceders - - - - 242
Their enmity to Wesley - - - - 245
Wesley complains of the indifference of the Scotch - 246
His opinion of John Knox - - - - 250
Arrested at Edinburgh - - - - - 253
Thomas Taylor's adventures at Glasgow - - - 253

CHAP. XXIII.

Methodism in Ireland - - - - - 256
Ferocious superstition mingled with Christianity - - 256
Attachment of the Irish to popery - - - 257
The Reformation injurious to Ireland - - - 258
Berkeley's hints for converting the people - - 260
Wesley's favourable opinion of the Irish - - 262
The methodists are nick-named Swaddlers - - 263
Riots against them at Cork - - - - 264
Whitefield nearly murdered at Dublin - - 271
Animosity of the Catholics - - - - - 273
THOMAS WALSH - - - - - - 273
He renounces the Romish Church - - - 275
Becomes a Methodist - - - - 277
Preaches in Irish - - - - - - 280
Sanctity of his character - - - - - 283
Wesley becomes popular in Ireland - - - 288
Cases of Methodism - - - - - 289
The plunder of a wreck restored - - - - 292

CHAP. XXIV.

Page
Wesley in middle age - - - - 296
Charles Wesley marries - - - 296
John takes counsel concerning marriage - - - 297
Marries Mrs. Vizelle - - - - 299
Her jealousy and insufferable conduct - - - 300
Their separation - - - - - 303
Tendency of Methodism to schism - - - 305
Wesley favours the arguments of the separatists - - 308
But opposes the separation - - - 310
James Wheatley - - - - - 312
James Relly - - - - - - 314
Scheme of the Rellyan Universalists - - - 314
Antinomianism - - - - - 316
Excesses at Everton - - - - - 319
Wesley suspects their real character - - - 333
Controversy with Bishop Lavington - - - 334
With Warburton - - - - - 335
George Bell - - - - - - 338
Maxfield separates from Wesley - - - - 343
Prophecy of the end of the world - - - 344
Wesley's Primitive Physic - - - - 345
He recovers from a consumption - - - 347
His epitaph, written by himself - - - 348

CHAP. XXV.

Progress of Calvinistic Methodism - - - 349
Whitefield's courtship - - - - - - 349
His marriage - - - - - - 351
He preaches in Moorfields during the Whitsun-holydays 353
First Methodist Tabernacle built - - - 357
Lady Huntingdon - - - - - 357
Whitefield invited to preach at her house - - 359
She becomes the patroness of the Calvinistic Methodists 361
Founds a seminary for them at Trevecca - - 362
Death of Whitefield - - - - - 364
Minutes of Conference in 1771 - - - 366
Lady Huntingdon offended at these Minutes - - 367
Mr. Fletcher - - - - - - 367

Page
Mr. Shirley's Circular Letter concerning the Minutes - 371
Meeting at the Conference and apparent reconciliation 372
Controversy - - - - - - - 373
Mr. Toplady - - - - - - 374
Fletcher's controversial writings - - - 379
Abuse of Wesley - - - - - - 383
Wesley's sermon upon Free Grace - - - 384

CHAP. XXVI.

Wesley attempts to form an union of clergymen - - 395
Rev. William Grimshaw - - - - 396
Dr. Coke - - - - - - 401
Tendency to schism - - - - - 404
Erasmus the Greek Bishop - - - - 406
Baptism by immersion - - - - - 407
Wesley's manner of dealing with crazy people - - 408
Cases of infidelity - - - - - 409
His own stage of doubt - - - - - 410
He encourages a certain kind of insanity - - 411
Is easily duped - - - - - - 412
His excessive credulity - - - - 413
He publishes the Arminian Magazine - - - 414

CHAP. XXVII.

Methodism in America - - - - - 416
Society formed at New York by Philip Embury and Captain Webb - - - - - - - 418
Mr. Wesley sends preachers - - - - 419
Their progress interrupted by the war - - - 420
Wesley's "Calm Address" - - - - - 421
Attacked by Caleb Evans - - - - - 424
Defended by Mr. Fletcher - - - - - 425
Wesley's Observations on Liberty, in reply to Dr. Price 429
He instructs his preachers in America to refrain from politics - - - - - - - 432
The English preachers obliged to fly - - - 433
The sectarian clergy refuse to administer the ordinances to the Methodists - - - - - 434

Page

Impossibility of obtaining episcopal ordination in America - - - - - - - - - - 435
The American Methodists ordain for themselves - - 436
Asbury sets this aside, and refers the affair to Mr. Wesley 436
Wesley resolves to ordain priests for America, and consecrates Dr. Coke as a bishop - - - 437
His letters of ordination - - - - 439
Dr. Coke sails for New York - - - - - 442
Meets Asbury - - - - - - - - - 443
Conference at Baltimore - - - - - - 444
Scheme of the Methodist Church in America - - 445
Their address to Washington - - - - - - 446
Foundation of Cokesbury College - - - - 447
Discipline of the College - - - - - 448
Popularity of Dr. Coke - - - - - 450
He makes himself obnoxious by preaching against slavery - - - - - - 451
Forest-preaching - - - - - - - 453
Riotous devotion at their meetings - - - - 455
Benjamin Abbott - - - - - - - 457
Rule respecting spirituous liquors - - - - 461
Odd places in which Dr. Coke preached - - - 463
He complains of the *location* of the preachers - - 464
Rapid increase of the Methodists - - - - 465

CHAP. XXVIII.

Methodism in the West Indies - - - - 466
Mr. Gilbert forms a society in Antigua - - - 467
John Baxter - - - - - - - - 468
History of an Irish family - - - - - 469
Coke is driven to the West Indies - - - 471
He is well received at Antigua - - - - 472
Visits the neighbouring islands - - - - 473
His second voyage to the West Indies - - 474
Lands in Barbadoes - - - - - - 475
Methodism proscribed in St. Eustatius - - - 477
Rash conduct of Dr. Coke - - - - - 478
He is hospitably entertained in Jamaica - - - 480
Begs money for the West Indian Missions - - 481

Page
Methodists become unpopular in the Islands - - - 482
Effects of enthusiasm - - - - - - - 483
Riots - - - - - - - - 487
Numbers at the time of Wesley's death - - - 489

CHAP. XXIX.

Settlement of the Conference - - - - 490
Offence given by the Deed of Declaration - - - 494
Easy terms of admission - - - - - 495
Dress - - - - - - - - 497
Amusements - - - - - - - 503
Laughter - - - - - - - 505
Kingswood School - - - - - 507
Yearly covenant - - - - - 511
Alarming sermons - - - - - - 513
Effects of Methodism upon the educated classes - 518
Riches - - - - - - - - 521
Little real reformation in the great body - - - 525
Moral Miracles - - - - - - - 528
Prisons - - - - - - - 531
Effect of Methodism upon the Clergy. - - - - 532
Political effects - - - - - - - 533
Wesley ordains preachers for Scotland - - - 534
Injudicious conduct of some magistrates in Lincolnshire 535
Wesley's letter to the bishop - - - - - 536

CHAP. XXX.

Wesley in old age - - - - - - - 538
His excellent health and spirits - - - - 538
Cured of a hydrocele - - - - - - 539
Removes from the Foundry to the City-Road - - 540
Lay-preachers jealous of Charles - - - - 541
Mrs. Wright - - - - - - - - 543
Musical talents of Charles's sons - - - - 544
One of them becomes a Papist - - - - 544
Wesley's letter upon this subject - - - - 545
His controversy with the Roman Catholics - - - 546
Account of his health in his 72d year - - - - 547

Page
He outlives all his first disciples - - - - 549
Death of Mr. Fletcher - - - - - - 551
Wesley's extraordinary health in old age - - - 556
He begins to feel decay in his 84th year - - - 557
Death of Charles Wesley - - - - - 558
Wesley closes his cash-accounts - - - - 560
His last letters to America - - - - - 561
His death - - - - - - - 561
Lies in state in the Chapel - - - - - 562
State of the Connection at his death - - - - 563
Conclusion - - - - - - - 563

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

The Pretender - - - - - - - - 569
Lay-preachers - - - - - - - - 569
Thomas Olivers - - - - - - - - 570
Anecdotes of the bustard - - - - - 571
Toplady's illustration of the renewal of the image of God in the heart of man - - - - 572
The New Birth - - - - - - - - 573
Instantaneous conversion - - - - - 578
Salvation not to be sought by works - - - - 578
Assurance - - - - - - - - 579
Perfection - - - - - - - - 580
Ministry of Angels - - - - - 581
Agency of evil spirits - - - - - - 583
Immortality of animals - - - - - 585
Itinerancy - - - - - - - 585
The select bands - - - - - - - 588
Psalmody - - - - - - - - 589
Service of the Methodists - - - - 591
Strong feelings expressed with levity - - - 593
Methodism in Scotland - - - - 593
Ireland neglected at the Reformation - - - 594
Wesley offers to raise men for government during the American war - - - - 596
Wesley's separation from his wife - - - - 596
The Burnham Society - - - - 597
Device upon Whitefield's seal - - - - 599

Page
Whitefield's body - - - - - - - 599
Conference with Mr. Shirley - - - - 600
Berridge - - - - - - - 601
The Serpent and the Fox - - - - 601
Calvinism - - - - - - - 604
Mr. Fletcher's Illustrations of Calvinism - - - 605
Arminianism described by the Calvinists - - - 610
Young Grimshaw - - - - - - - 612
Wesley's doctrine concerning riches - - - 612
The yearly covenant - - - - - - 613
The value of a good conscience - - - - 615
Mr. Wesley's epitaphs - - - - - 616
J. Collet's forgeries - - - - - - 617

ADDITIONAL NOTES concerning Mr. Wesley's family 618

THE

LIFE OF WESLEY.

THE sect, or Society, as they would call themselves, of Methodists, has existed for the greater part of a century: they have their seminaries, and their hierarchy, their own regulations, their own manners, their own literature: in England they form a distinct people, an *imperium in imperio*: they are extending widely in America; and in both countries they number their annual increase by thousands. The history of their founder is little known in his native land beyond the limits of those who are termed the religious public; and on the Continent it is scarcely known at all. In some of his biographers the heart has been wanting to understand his worth, or the will to do it justice; others have not possessed freedom or strength of intellect to perceive wherein he was erroneous.

It has been remarked, with much complacency, by the Jesuits, that in the year of Luther's birth Loyola was born also: Providence, they say, having wisely appointed, that when so large a portion of Christendom was to be separated from the catholic church by means of the great German heresiarch,

the great Spanish saint should establish an order by which the catholic faith would be strenuously supported in Europe, and disseminated widely in the other parts of the world. Voltaire and Wesley were not indeed in like manner children of the same year, but they were contemporaries through a longer course of time; and the influences which they exercised upon their age and upon posterity, have been not less remarkably opposed. While the one was scattering, with pestilent activity, the seeds of immorality and unbelief, the other, with equally unwearied zeal, laboured in the cause of religious enthusiasm. The works of Voltaire have found their way wherever the French language is read; the disciples of Wesley wherever the English is spoken. The principles of the arch-infidel were more rapid in their operation: he who aimed at no such evil as that which he contributed so greatly to bring about, was himself startled at their progress: in his latter days he trembled at the consequences which he then foresaw; and indeed his remains had scarcely mouldered in the grave, before those consequences brought down the whole fabric of government in France, overturned her altars, subverted her throne, carried guilt, devastation, and misery into every part of his own country, and shook the rest of Europe like an earthquake. Wesley's doctrines, meantime, were slowly and gradually winning their way; but they advanced every succeeding year with accelerated force, and their effect must ultimately be more extensive, more powerful, and more permanent, for he has

set mightier principles at work. Let it not, however, be supposed that I would represent these eminent men, like agents of the good and evil principles, in all things contrasted: the one was not all darkness, neither was the other all light.

The history of men who have been prime agents in those great moral and intellectual revolutions which from time to time take place among mankind, is not less important than that of statesmen and conquerors. If it has not to treat of actions wherewith the world has rung from side to side, it appeals to the higher part of our nature, and may perhaps excite more salutary feelings, a worthier interest, and wiser meditations. The Emperor Charles V., and his rival of France, appear at this day infinitely insignificant, if we compare them with Luther and Loyola; and there may come a time when the name of Wesley will be more generally known, and in remoter regions of the globe, than that of Frederic or of Catharine. For the works of such men survive them, and continue to operate, when nothing remains of worldly ambition but the memory of its vanity and its guilt.

CHAPTER I.

FAMILY OF THE WESLEYS.—WESLEY'S CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION.

THE founder of the Methodists was emphatically of a good family, in the sense wherein he himself would have used the term. Bartholomew Wesley, his great grandfather, studied physic* as well as divinity at the university, a practice not unusual at that time: he was ejected, by the act of uniformity, from the living of Allington, in Dorsetshire; and the medical knowledge which he had acquired from motives of charity, became then the means of his support. John his son was educated at New Inn Hall, Oxford, in the time of the Commonwealth: he was distinguished not only for his piety and diligence, but for his progress in the oriental tongues,

* "Let me," says the humble moderator, (Bishop Croft) "speak a word to those of the inferior clergy who take upon them to study and practise physic for hire: this must needs be sinful, as taking them off from their spiritual employment. Had they studied physic before they entered holy orders, and would after make use of their skill among their poor neighbours out of charity, they were commendable: but being entered on a spiritual and pastoral charge, which requires the whole man, and more, to spend their time in this, or any other study not spiritual, is contrary to their vocation, and consequently sinful; and to do it for gain is sordid, and unworthy their high and holy calling. But *necessitas cogit ad turpia*: the maintenance of many ministers is so small, as it forces them, even for food and raiment, to seek it by other employment, which may in some measure excuse them, but mightily condemns those who should provide better for them."

by which he attracted the particular notice and esteem of the then vice-chancellor, John Owen, a man whom the Calvinistic dissenters still regard as the greatest* of their divines. If the government had continued in the Cromwell family, this patronage would have raised him to distinction. He obtained the living of Blandford in his own county, and was ejected from it for non-conformity: being thus adrift, he thought of emigrating to Maryland, or to Surinam, where the English were then intending to settle a colony, but reflection and advice determined him to take his lot in his native land. There, by continuing to preach, he became obnoxious to the laws, and was four times imprisoned: his spirits were broken by the loss of those whom he loved best, and by the evil days: he died at the early age of three or four and thirty; and such was the spirit of the times, that the vicar of Preston, in which village he died, would not allow his body to be buried in the church. Bartholomew was then

* "The name of Owen," says Messrs. Bogue and Bennet, the joint historians of the Dissenters, "has been raised to imperial dignity in the theological world by Dr. John Owen."—"A young minister," they say, "who wishes to attain eminence in his profession, if he has not the works of John Howe, and can procure them in no other way, should sell his coat and buy them; and if that will not suffice, let him sell his bed too and lie on the floor; and if he spend his days in reading them, he will not complain that he lies hard at night."—But "if the theological student should part with his coat, or his bed, to procure the works of Howe, he that would not sell his shirt to procure those of John Owen, and especially his Exposition, of which every sentence is precious, shews too much regard for his body, and too little for his immortal mind."

History of the Dissenters, vol. ii. pp. 223, 236.

living, but the loss of this, his only son, brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

This John Wesley married a woman of good stock, the niece of Thomas Fuller, the church historian, a man not more remarkable for wit and quaintness, than for the felicity with which he clothed fine thoughts in beautiful language. He left two sons, of whom Samuel, the younger, was only eight or nine years old at the time of his father's death. The circumstances of the father's life and sufferings, which have given him a place among the confessors of the non-conformists, were likely to influence the opinions of the son; but happening to fall in with bigotted and ferocious men, he saw the worst part of the dissenting character. Their defence of the execution of K. Charles offended him, and he was at once shocked and disgusted by their * calf's head club; so much so, that he separated from them, and, because of their intolerance, joined the church which had persecuted his father. This conduct, which was the result of feeling, was approved by his ripe judgment, and Samuel Wesley continued through life a zealous churchman. The feeling which urged him to this step must have been very powerful, and no common spirit was required to bear him through the difficulties which he brought upon him.

* So Samuel Wesley the son states, in a note to his elegy upon his father. According to him, if his words are to be literally understood, the separation took place when Mr. Wesley was but a boy. There is, however, reason for supposing that he was of age at the time, as will be shewn in the note next ensuing.

self; for by withdrawing from the academy at which he had been placed, he so far offended his friends, that they lent him no farther support, and in the latter years of Charles II. there was little disposition to encourage proselytes who joined a church which the reigning family was labouring to subvert. But Samuel Wesley was made of good mould: he knew and could depend upon himself: he walked to Oxford, entered himself at Exeter College as a poor scholar*, and began his studies there with no larger a fund than two pounds sixteen shillings, and no prospect of any future sup-

* In Dr. Whitehead's lives of the Wesleys, and in the life which is prefixed to the collected edition of Mr. Wesley's works, it is said that Wesley the father was about sixteen when he entered himself at Exeter college. But as he was born "about the year 1662, or perhaps a little earlier," he must have been not less than two-and-twenty at that time, as the following extracts from the registers of Exeter College will prove:

Deposit of caution money.	Return of caution money.
Sept. 26. 1684. Mro. Hutchins pro Samuele Westley, paup. schol. de Dorchester, 3*l.*	Dec. 22. 1686. Samueli Westley pro seipso, 3*l.*
Ric. Hutchins. Guil. Crabb.	Ric. Hutchins. Samuel Westley.
Feb. 9. 1686. Mro. Paynter pro Sam. Westley, p. schol. olim admisso, 3*l.*	Jan. 10. 1687. Mihi ipsi pro impensis. Coll. debitis ad fest. Nat. 87. 3*l.*
Guil. Paynter. Ric. Hutchins.	Jo. Harris.

To these extracts, for which I am obliged to a fellow of Exeter College, through the means of a common friend, these explanatory observations are annexed. "In the entries of deposits the name first signed is that of the bursar, as R. Hutchins, G. Paynter: the name which fol-

ply. From that time, till he graduated, a single crown was all the assistance he received from his friends. He composed exercises for those who had more money than learning; and he gave instruction to those who wished to profit by his lessons; and thus by great industry, and great frugality, he not only supported himself, but had accumulated the sum of ten pounds fifteen shillings, when he went to London to be ordained. Having served a curacy there one year, and as chaplain during another on board a king's ship, he settled upon a curacy in the metropolis, and married Susannah, daughter of Dr. Annesley, one of the ejected ministers.

No man was ever more suitably mated than the elder Wesley. The wife whom he chose was, like himself, the child of a man eminent among the

---

lows is that of the depositor sometimes, but more usually that of his tutor or friend. Crabb was dean of the college when Westley entered.

"The *Pauper Scholaris* was the lowest of the four conditions of members not on the foundation, as the annexed table, copied from one prefixed to the caution book, shews:

Summæ tradendæ Bursario pro ratione diversarum conditionum scire.	1. Commensalium admissorum ad mensam	1. Sociorum	6*l.*
		2. Propriam	5*l.*
	2. Battallariorum		4*l.*
	3. Pauperum Scholarium		3*l.*

"I understand that some of these poor scholars were servitors, but not all.

"There seems reason to suspect that Dec. 22, 1686, in the first entry of return, should be 1685; for otherwise Samuel Westley will appear to have had two cautions *in* at once; and from the state of his finances this is peculiarly improbable."

The name is spelled Westley, with a *t*, in these entries, and in his own signature.

non-conformists, and, like himself, in early youth she had chosen her own path: she had examined the * controversy between the Dissenters and the Church of England with conscientious diligence, and satisfied herself that the schismatics were in the wrong. The dispute, it must be remembered, related wholly to discipline; but her enquiries had not stopt there, and she had reasoned herself into Socinianism, from which she was reclaimed by her husband. She was an admirable woman, of highly-improved mind, and of a strong and masculine understanding, an obedient wife, an exemplary mother, a fervent Christian. The marriage was blest in all its circumstances: it was contracted in the prime of their youth: it was fruitful; and death did not divide them till they were both full of days.

* "There is nothing I now desire to live for (says Mrs. Wesley in a letter to her son Samuel, dated Oct. 11, 1709,) but to do some small service to my children; that, as I have brought them into the world, I may, if it please God, be an instrument of doing good to their souls. I had been several years collecting from my little reading, but chiefly from my own observation and experience, some things which I hoped might be useful to you all. I had begun to correct and form all into a little manual, wherein I designed you should have seen what were the particular reasons which prevailed on me to believe the being of a God, and the grounds of natural religion, together with the motives that induced me to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ; under which was comprehended my own private reasons for the truth of revealed religion; and because I was educated among the Dissenters, and there was something remarkable in my leaving them at so early an age, not being full thirteen, I had drawn up an account of the whole transaction, under which I had included the main of the controversy between them and the established church, as far as it had come to my knowledge, and then followed the reasons which had determined my judgment to the preference of the Church of England. I had fairly transcribed a great part of it, but before I could finish my design, the flames consumed both this and all my other writings."

They had no less than nineteen children; but only three sons and three daughters seem to have grown up; and it is probably to the loss of the others that the father refers in one of his letters, where he says, that he had suffered things more grievous than death. The manner in which these children were taught to read is remarkable: the mother never began with them till they were five years old, and then she made them learn the alphabet perfectly in one day: on the next they were put to spell and to read one line, and then a verse, never leaving it till they were perfect in the lesson.

Mr. Wesley soon attracted notice by his ability and his erudition. Talents found their way into public less readily in that age than in the present; and therefore, when they appeared, they obtained attention the sooner. He was thought capable of forwarding the plans of James II. with regard to religion; and preferment was promised him if he would preach in behalf of the king's measures. But instead of reading the king's declaration as he was required, and although surrounded with courtiers, soldiers, and informers, he preached boldly against the designs of the court, taking for his text the pointed language of the prophet Daniel, "If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O king! But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." When the Revolution was effected, Mr. Wesley was the first who wrote

in its defence: he dedicated the work to Queen Mary, and was rewarded for it with the living of Epworth, in Lincolnshire. It is said that if the queen had lived longer he would have obtained more preferment. His wife differed from him in opinion concerning the Revolution, but as she understood the duty and the wisdom of obedience, she did not express her dissent; and he discovered it a year only before King William died, by observing that she did not say Amen to the prayers for him. Instead of imitating her forbearance, he questioned her upon the subject, and when she told him she did not believe the Prince of Orange was king, he vowed never again to cohabit with her till she did. In pursuance of this unwarrantable vow he immediately took horse and rode away; nor did she hear of him again, till the death of the king, about twelve months afterwards, released him from his rash and criminal engagement. John was their first child after his separation.

In the reign of Queen Anne Mr. Wesley's prospects appeared to brighten. A poem which he published upon the battle of Blenheim pleased the duke of Marlborough, and the author was rewarded with the chaplainship of a regiment. A farther and better reward was held out to his expectations; and he was invited to London by a nobleman who promised to procure him a prebend. This the Dissenters, with whom he was engaged in controversy, were at that time powerful enough to prevent. No enmity is so envenomed as that of religious faction. The Dissenters hated Mr. Wesley cordially, be-

cause they looked upon him as one who, having been born in their service, had cast off his allegiance. They intercepted his preferment: "they worked him out of his chaplainship, and brought several other very severe sufferings upon him and his family." During the subsequent reign the small living of Wroote was given him, in the same county with Epworth.

John, his second son, the founder of the Methodists, was born at Epworth on the 17th of June 1703. Epworth is a market-town in the Lindsay division of Lincolnshire, irregularly built, and containing at that time in its parish about two thousand persons. The inhabitants are chiefly employed in the culture and preparation of hemp and flax, in spinning these articles, and in the manufactory of sacking and bagging. Mr. Wesley found his parishioners in a profligate state; and the zeal with which he discharged his duty in admonishing them of their sins, excited a spirit of diabolical hatred in those whom it failed to reclaim. Some of these wretches twice attempted to set his house on fire, without success: they succeeded in a third attempt. At midnight some pieces of burning wood fell from the roof upon the bed in which one of the children lay, and burnt her feet. Before she could give the alarm, Mr. Wesley was roused by a cry of fire from the street: little imagining that it was in his own house, he opened the door, and found it full of smoke, and that the roof was already burnt through. His wife being ill at the time, slept apart from him, and in a separate

room. Bidding her and the two eldest girls rise and shift for their lives, he burst open the nursery door, where the maid was sleeping with five children. She snatched up the youngest, and bade the others follow her; the three elder did so, but John, who was then six years old, was not awakened by all this, and in the alarm and confusion he was forgotten. By the time they reached the hall, the flames had spread every where around them, and Mr. Wesley then found that the keys of the house-door were above stairs. He ran and recovered them, a minute before the stair-case took fire. When the door was opened, a strong north-east wind drove in the flames with such violence from the side of the house, that it was impossible to stand against them. Some of the children got through the windows, and others through a little door into the garden. Mrs. Wesley could not reach the garden door, and was not in a condition to climb to the windows: after three times attempting to face the flames, and shrinking as often from their force, she besought Christ to preserve her, if it was his will, from that dreadful death: she then, to use her own expression, *waded* through the fire, and escaped into the street naked as she was, with some slight scorching of the hands and face. At this time John, who had not been remembered till that moment, was heard crying in the nursery. The father ran to the stairs, but they were so nearly consumed, that they could not bear his weight, and being utterly in despair, he fell upon his knees in the hall, and in agony commended the soul of the child to God. John

had been awakened by the light, and thinking it was day, called to the maid to take him up; but as no one answered, he opened the curtains, and saw streaks of fire upon the top of the room. He ran to the door, and finding it impossible to escape that way, climbed upon a chest which stood near the window, and he was then seen from the yard. There was no time for procuring a ladder, but it was happily a low house: one man was hoisted upon the shoulders of another, and could then reach the window, so as to take him out: a moment later and it would have been too late: the whole roof fell in, and had it not fallen inward, they must all have been crushed together. When the child was carried out to the house where his parents were, the father cried out, "Come, neighbours, let us kneel down: let us give thanks to God! he has given me all my eight children: let the house go, I am rich enough." John Wesley remembered this providential deliverance through life with the deepest gratitude. In reference to it he had a house in flames engraved as an emblem under one of his portraits, with these words for the motto, "Is not this a brand plucked out of the burning?"

The third son, Charles, the zealous and able associate of his brother in his future labours, was at this time scarcely two months old. The circumstances of his birth are remarkable. His mother was delivered of him before the due time, and the child appeared dead rather than alive, neither crying nor opening its eyes: in this state it was kept,

wrapt up in soft wool, till the time when he should have been born according to the usual course of nature, and then, it is said, he opened his eyes and made himself heard.

Mr. Wesley usually attended the sittings of convocation: such attendance, according to his principles, was a part of his duty, and he performed it at an expense of money which he could ill spare from the necessities of so large a family, and at a cost of time which was injurious to his parish.—During these absences, as there was no afternoon service at Epworth, Mrs. Wesley prayed with her own family on Sunday evenings, read a sermon, and engaged afterwards in religious conversation. Some of the parishioners who came in accidentally were not excluded; and she did not think it proper that their presence should interrupt the duty of the hour. Induced by the report which these persons made, others requested permission to attend; and in this manner from thirty to forty persons usually assembled. After this had continued some time, she happened to find an account of the Danish missionaries in her husband's study, and was much impressed by the perusal. The book strengthened her desire of doing good: she chose "the best and most awakening sermons," and spake with more freedom, more warmth, more affection to the neighbours who attended at her evening prayers; their numbers increased in consequence, for she did not think it right to deny any who asked admittance. More persons came at length than the apartment could hold; and the thing was re-

presented to her husband in such a manner that he wrote to her, objecting to her conduct, because, he said, "it looked particular," because of her sex, and because he was at that time in a public station and character, which rendered it the more necessary that she should do nothing to attract censure; and he recommended that some other person should read for her. She began her reply by heartily thanking him for dealing so plainly and faithfully with her in a matter of no common concern. "As to its *looking particular*," she said, "I grant it does; and so does almost every thing that is serious, or that may any way advance the glory of God, or the salvation of souls, if it be performed out of a pulpit or in the way of common conversation; because in our corrupt age the utmost care and diligence has been used to banish all discourse of God, or spiritual concerns, out of society, as if religion were never to appear out of the closet, and we were to be ashamed of nothing so much as confessing ourselves to be Christians." To the objection on account of her sex she answered, that as she was a woman, so was she also mistress of a large family; and though the superior charge lay upon him as their head and minister, yet in his absence she could not but look upon every soul which he had left under her care, as a talent committed to her under a trust by the great Lord of all the families of heaven and earth.—"If," she added, "I am unfaithful to Him or to you, in neglecting to improve these talents, how shall I answer unto Him, when he shall command

me to render an account of my stewardship?" The objections which arose from his own station and character she left entirely to his own judgment. Why any person should reflect upon him, because his wife endeavoured to draw people to church, and restrain them, by reading and other persuasions, from profaning the sabbath, she could not conceive; and if any were mad enough to do so, she hoped he would not regard it. "For my own part," she says, "I value no censure on this account: I have long since shook hands with the world; and I heartily wish I had never given them more reason to speak against me." As to the proposal of letting some other person read for her, she thought her husband had not considered what a people they were; not a man among them could read a sermon without spelling a good part of it, and how would that edify the rest? And none of her own family had voices strong enough to be heard by so many.

While Mrs. Wesley thus vindicated herself in a manner which she thought must prove convincing to her husband, as well as to her own calm judgment, the curate of Epworth (a man who seems to have been entitled to very little respect) wrote to Mr. Wesley in a very different strain, complaining that a conventicle was held in his house. The name was well chosen to alarm so high a churchman; and his second letter declared a decided disapprobation of these meetings, to which he had made no serious objections before. She did not reply to this till some days had elapsed, for she deemed it ne-

cessary that both should take some time to consider before her husband finally determined in a matter which she felt to be of great importance. She expressed her astonishment that any effect upon his opinions, much more any change in them, should be produced by the senseless clamour of two or three of the worst in his parish; and she represented to him the good which had been done by inducing a much more frequent and regular attendance at church, and reforming the general habits of the people; and the evil which would result from discontinuing such meetings, especially by the prejudices which it would excite against the curate, in those persons who were sensible that they derived benefit from the religious opportunities, which would thus be taken away through his interference. After stating these things clearly and judiciously, she concluded thus, in reference to her own duty as a wife:—"If you do, after all, think fit to dissolve this assembly, do not tell me that you *desire* me to do it, for that will not satisfy my conscience; but send me your *positive command*, in such full and express terms as may absolve me from guilt and punishment for neglecting this opportunity of doing good, when you and I shall appear before the great and awful tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Mr. Wesley made no farther objections; and thoroughly respecting, as he did, the principles and the understanding of his wife, he was perhaps ashamed that the representations of meaner minds should have prejudiced him against her conduct.

John and Charles were at this time under their mother's care: she devoted such a proportion of time as she could afford to discourse with each child by itself on one night of the week, upon the duties and the hopes of Christianity: and it may well be believed that these circumstances of their childhood had no inconsiderable influence upon their proceedings when they became the founders and directors of a new community of Christians. John's providential deliverance from the fire had profoundly impressed his mother, as it did himself, throughout the whole of his after-life. Among the private meditations which were found among her papers, was one written out long after that event, in which she expressed in prayer her intention to be *more particularly* careful of the soul of this child, which God had so mercifully provided for, that she might instil into him the principles of true religion and virtue:—"Lord," she said, "give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempts with good success. The peculiar care which was thus taken of his religious education, the habitual and fervent piety of both his parents, and his own surprising preservation, at an age when he was perfectly capable of remembering all the circumstances, combined to foster in the child that disposition which afterwards developed itself with such force, and produced such important effects.

Talents of no ordinary kind, as well as a devotional temper, were hereditary in this remarkable family. Samuel, the elder brother, who was eleven years older than John, could not speak at all till he was

more than four years old, and consequently was thought to be deficient in his faculties: but it seems as if the child had been laying up stores in secret till that time, for one day, when some question was proposed to another person concerning him, he answered it himself in a manner which astonished all who heard him, and from that hour he continued to speak without difficulty. He distinguished himself first at Westminster, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, by his classical attainments. From Christ Church he returned to Westminster as an usher, and then took orders, under the patronage of Atterbury. But he regarded Atterbury more as a friend than a patron, and holding the same * political opinions, he attracted the resentment of the ministers, by assailing them with epigrams and satires. On this account, when the situation of under-master became vacant, and he was proposed as a man eminently qualified to fill it, by experience, ability, and character, the appointment was refused, upon the irrelevant objection that he

* The sons appear to have imbibed their mother's political opinions. Samuel was one of those wits who did themselves no honour, and their country no service, by assailing Sir Robert Walpole's administration. There is a passage in one of Charles Wesley's letters which shews that John was of the same political school. Writing to Samuel from Oxford in the year 1734, he says, "My brother has been much mauled, and threatened more, for his Jacobite sermon on the 11th of June. But he was wise enough to get the vice-chancellor to read and approve it before he preached it, and may therefore bid Wadham, Merton, Exeter, and Christ Church do their worst." Wesley has asserted, and his biographers have repeated it after him, that Dr. Sacheverel's defence was composed by his father. It has been usually ascribed to Atterbury, and very possibly he may have employed his young friend in the task,—a task by no means consonant with the father's principles.

was a married man. Charles was placed under him at Westminster, and going through the college in like manner, was also elected to Christ Church. John was educated at the Charter-house.

While John was at school, certain disturbances occurred in his father's house, so unaccountable, that every person by whom they were witnessed believed them to be supernatural. At the latter end of the year 1715, the maid-servant was terrified by hearing at the dining-room door several dismal groans, as of a person at the point of death. The family gave little heed to her story, and endeavoured to laugh her out of her fears; but a few nights afterward, they began to hear strange knockings, usually three or four at a time, in different parts of the house: every person heard these noises except Mr. Wesley himself; and as, according to vulgar opinion, such sounds were not audible by the individual to whom they foreboded evil, they refrained from telling him, lest he should suppose that it betokened his own death, as they indeed all apprehended. At length, however, the disturbance became so great and so frequent, that few or none of the family durst be alone, and Mrs. Wesley thought it better to inform her husband; for it was not possible that the matter could long be concealed from him; and moreover, as she says, she was minded he should speak to it. The noises were now various as well as strange, loud rumblings above stairs or below; a clatter among a number of bottles, as if they had all at once been dashed to pieces; footsteps as of a man going up

and down stairs at all hours of the night; sounds like that of dancing in an empty room, the door of which was locked; gobbling like a turkey cock; but most frequently a knocking about the beds at night, and in different parts of the house. Mrs. Wesley would at first have persuaded the children and servants that it was occasioned by rats within doors, and mischievous persons without, and her husband had recourse to the same ready solution: or some of his daughters, he supposed, sate up late and made a noise; and a hint that their lovers might have something to do with the mystery, made the young ladies heartily hope he might soon be convinced that there was more in the matter than he was disposed to believe. In this they were not disappointed, for on the next night, a little after midnight, he was awakened by nine loud and distinct knocks, which seemed to be in the next room, with a pause at every third stroke. He rose and went to see if he could discover the cause, but could perceive nothing; still he thought it might be some person out of doors, and relied upon a stout mastiff to rid them of this nuisance. But the dog, which upon the first disturbance had barked violently, was ever afterwards cowed by it, and, seeming more terrified than any of the children, came whining himself to his master and mistress, as if to seek protection in a human presence. And when the man-servant, Robin Brown, took the mastiff at night into his room, to be at once a guard and a companion, as soon as the latch began to jar as usual, the dog crept into bed, and barked and howled so as to alarm the house.

The fears of the family for Mr. Wesley's life being removed as soon as he had heard the mysterious noises, they began to apprehend that one of the sons had met with a violent death, and more particularly Samuel, the eldest. The father, therefore, one night after several deep groans had been heard, adjured it to speak if it had power, and tell him why it troubled the house; and upon this, three distinct knockings were made. He then questioned it if it were Samuel his son? bidding it, if it were, and could not speak, to knock again: but to their great comfort there was no farther knocking that night; and when they heard that Samuel and the two boys were safe and well, the visitations of the goblin became rather a matter of curiosity and amusement than of alarm. Emilia gave it the name of Old Jeffery, and by this name he was now known as a harmless though by no means an agreeable inmate of the parsonage. Jeffery was not a malicious goblin, but he was easily offended. Before Mrs. Wesley was satisfied that there was something supernatural in the noises, she recollected that one of her neighbours had frightened the rats from his dwelling by blowing a horn there: the horn, therefore, was borrowed, and blown stoutly about the house for half a day, greatly against the judgment of one of the sisters, who maintained that if it was any thing supernatural, it would certainly be very angry and more troublesome. Her opinion was verified by the event: Jeffery had never till then begun his operations during the day: from that time he came by day as

well as by night, and was louder than before. And he never entered Mr. Wesley's study till the owner one day rebuked him sharply, called him a deaf and dumb devil, and bade him cease to disturb the innocent children, and come to him in his study, if he had any thing to say. This was a sort of defiance, and Jeffery therefore took him at his word. No other person in the family ever felt the goblin, but Mr. Wesley was thrice pushed by it with considerable force.

So he himself relates, and his evidence is clear and distinct. He says also, that once or twice when he spoke to it, he heard two or three feeble squeaks, a little louder than the chirping of a bird, but not like the noise of rats. What is said of an actual appearance is not so well confirmed. Mrs. Wesley thought she saw something run from under the bed, and thought it most like a badger, but she could not well say of what shape; and the man saw something like a white rabbit, which came from behind the oven, with its ears flat upon the neck, and its little scut standing straight up. A shadow may possibly explain the first of these appearances; the other may be imputed to that proneness which ignorant persons so commonly evince to exaggerate in all uncommon cases. These circumstances, therefore, though apparently silly in themselves, in no degree invalidate the other parts of the story, which rest upon the concurrent testimony of many intelligent witnesses. The door was once violently pushed against Emilia, when there was no person on the outside; the latches were frequently lifted up;

the windows clattered always before Jeffery entered a room, and whatever iron or brass was there, rung and jarred exceedingly. It was observed also that the wind commonly rose after any of his noises, and increased with it, and whistled loudly around the house. Mr. Wesley's trencher (for it was before our potteries had pushed their ware into every village throughout the kingdom) danced one day upon the table, to his no small amazement; and the handle of Robin's hand-mill, at another time, was turned round with great swiftness: unluckily Robin had just done grinding: nothing vexed him, he said, but that the mill was empty; if there had been corn in it, Jeffery might have ground his heart out before he would have disturbed him. It was plainly a Jacobite goblin, and seldom suffered Mr. Wesley to pray for the King and the Prince of Wales without disturbing the family prayers. Mr. Wesley was sore upon this subject, and became angry, and therefore repeated the prayer. But when Samuel was informed of this, his remark was, "As to the devil's being an enemy to King George, were I the king myself, I should rather Old Nick should be my enemy than my friend." The children were the only persons who were distressed by these visitations: the manner in which they were affected is remarkable: when the noises began they appeared to be frightened in their sleep, a sweat came over them, and they panted and trembled till the disturbance was so loud as to waken them. Before it ceased, the family had become quite accustomed to it, and were

tired with hearing or speaking of it. "Send me some news," said one of the sisters to her brother Samuel, "for we are secluded from the sight or hearing of any versal thing, except Jeffery."

An author who in this age relates such a story, and treats it as not utterly incredible and absurd, must expect to be ridiculed; but the testimony upon which it rests is far too strong to be set aside because of the strangeness of the relation. The letters which passed at the time between Samuel Wesley and the family at Epworth, the journal which Mr. Wesley kept of these remarkable transactions, and the evidence concerning them which John afterwards collected, fell into the hands of Dr. Priestley, and were * published by him as being "perhaps the best authenticated and best told story of the kind that is any where extant." He observes in favour of the story, "that all the parties seem to have been sufficiently void of fear, and also free from credulity, except the general belief that such things were supernatural." But he argues, that where no good end was to be answered, we may safely conclude that no miracle was wrought; and he supposes, as the most probable solution, that it was a trick of the servants, assisted by some of the neighbours, for the sake of amusing themselves and puzzling the family. In reply to this it may safely be asserted, that many of the circumstances cannot be explained by any

* These papers are inserted among the Notes and Illustrations at the end of the Volume, that the Reader may have before him the original documents relating to this remarkable affair.

such supposition, nor by any legerdemain, nor by ventriloquism, nor by any secret of acoustics. The former argument would be valid, if the term miracle were applicable to the case; but by miracle Dr. Priestley evidently intends a manifestation of Divine power, and in the present instance no such manifestation is supposed, any more than in the appearance of a departed spirit. Such things may be preternatural and yet not miraculous: they may be not in the ordinary course of nature, and yet imply no alteration of its laws. And with regard to the good end which they may be supposed to answer, it would be end sufficient if sometimes one of those unhappy persons who, looking through the dim glass of infidelity, see nothing beyond this life, and the narrow sphere of mortal existence, should, from the well-established truth of one such story, (trifling and objectless as it might otherwise appear,) be led to a conclusion that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy.

John suffered at the Charter-house under the tyranny which the elder boys were permitted to exercise. This evil at one time existed very generally in English schools, through the culpable negligence of the masters; and perhaps may still continue to exist, though if a system were designed for cultivating the worst dispositions of human nature, it could not more effectually answer the purpose. The boys of the higher forms of the Charter-house were then in the practice of taking their portion of meat from the younger ones, by

the law of the strongest; and during great part of the time that Wesley remained there, a small daily portion of bread was his only food. Those theoretical physicians who recommend spare diet for the human animal, might appeal with triumph to the length of days which he attained, and the elastic constitution which he enjoyed. He himself imputed this blessing, in great measure, to the strict obedience with which he performed an injunction of his father's, that he should run round the Charter-house garden three times every morning. Here, for his quietness, regularity, and application, he became a favourite with the master, Dr. Walker; and through life he retained so great a predilection for the place, that on his annual visit to London he made it a custom to walk through the scene* of his boyhood. To most men every

* Good old Izaak Walton has preserved a beautiful speech of that excellent man Sir Henry Wotton, when, in his old age, he was returning from a visit to Winchester, where he had been educated. "How useful," he said to a friend, his companion on that journey, "how useful was that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his friend to perform his customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there. And I find it thus far experimentally true, that my now being in that school, and seeing that very place where I sate when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me: sweet thoughts, indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed when time (which I therefore thought slow-paced) had changed my youth into manhood: but age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes: for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretell, 'sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations, and questionless possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death."

year would render a pilgrimage of this kind more painful than the last; but Wesley seems never to have looked back with melancholy upon the days that were gone; earthly regrets of this kind could find no room in one who was continually pressing onward to the goal.

At the age of seventeen he was removed from the Charter-house to Christ Church, Oxford.

CHAPTER II.

WESLEY AT OXFORD.

Before Wesley went to the university, he had acquired some knowledge of Hebrew under his brother Samuel's tuition. At college he continued his studies with all diligence, and was noticed there for his attainments, and especially for his skill in logic, by which he frequently put to silence those who contended with him in after-life. No man, indeed, was ever more dexterous in the art of reasoning. A charge was once brought against him that he delighted to perplex his opponents by his expertness in sophistry; he repelled it with indignation: "It has been my first care," said he, "to see that my cause was good, and never, either in jest or earnest, to defend the wrong side of a question; and shame on me if I cannot defend the right after so much practice, and after having been so early accustomed to separate truth from falsehood, how artfully soever they are twisted together." Like his father, and both his brothers, he was no inexpert versifier in his youth: this, however, was a talent which he forbore to use, when ascetic opinions began to influence him,—and the honour of being the sweet singer of Methodism was reserved for his brother Charles.

While he was an undergraduate, his manners were free and cheerful; and that activity of disposition which bore him afterward through such uninterrupted labour, displayed itself in wit and vivacity. But when the time of life arrived at which he might have taken orders, he, who was not a man to act lightly upon any occasion, and least of all upon so solemn a one, began to reflect seriously upon the importance of the priestly office, and to feel some scruples concerning the motives by which the person ought to be influenced who determines to take upon himself so awful a charge. These scruples he communicated to his father, who answered them sensibly; but agreed with him in not liking "a callow clergyman;" and hinting that he thought it too soon for him to be ordained, exhorted him to work while he could. The letter was written with a trembling pen: "You see," said the old man, "Time has shaken me by the hand, and Death is but a little way behind him. My eyes and heart are now almost all I have left, and I bless God for them." The mother, however, was of opinion, that the sooner he entered into deacon's orders the better, because it might be an inducement to greater application in the study of practical divinity. "And now," said she, "in good earnest resolve to make religion the business of your life: for, after all, that is the one thing that, strictly speaking, is necessary; all things beside are comparatively little to the purposes of life. I heartily wish you would now enter upon a strict examination of yourself, that you

may know whether you have a reasonable hope of salvation by Jesus Christ. If you have, the satisfaction of knowing it will abundantly reward your pains; if you have not, you will find a more reasonable occasion for tears than can be met with in a tragedy."

In conformity to this advice he applied himself closely to theological studies: his devotional feelings thus fostered, soon acquired the predominance in a frame of mind like his, and he now became desirous of entering upon his ministerial career. The father understanding this, judged it advisable that he should be ordained in the ensuing summer; "but, in the first place," said he, "if you love yourself or me, pray heartily." Two books which he read in the course of this preparation laid strong hold upon him. The first was the famous treatise *De Imitatione Christi*, commonly ascribed upon insufficient and disputed evidence to Thomas à Kempis. The view which is taken in that work of human life and of Christian duties revolted him at first. Upon this, as upon all other subjects, he consulted his parents as his natural and best counsellors, and represented it with humility as a misfortune that he differed from the writer in some main points. "I cannot think," said he, "that when God sent us into the world, he had irreversibly decreed that we should be perpetually miserable in it. If our taking up the Cross imply our bidding adieu to all joy and satisfaction, how is it reconcileable with what Solomon expressly affirms of religion, that *her ways are ways of pleasantness*,

and all her paths are peace?" Another of his tenets is, that mirth or pleasure is useless, if not sinful; and that nothing is an affliction to a good man,—that he ought to thank God even for sending him misery. This, in my opinion, says Wesley, is contrary to God's design in afflicting us? for though he chasteneth those whom he loveth, yet it is in order to humble them. His mother agreed with him that the author of this treatise had more zeal than knowledge, and was one of those men who would unnecessarily strew the way of life with thorns. "Would you judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of pleasure," she said, "take this rule: whatever weakens your reason, impairs the tenderness of your conscience, obscures your sense of God, or takes off the relish of spiritual things; —in short, whatever increases the strength and authority of your body over your mind, that thing is sin to you, however innocent it may be in itself." Well might Wesley consult upon such questions a mother who was capable of reasoning and writing thus. His father expressed a different opinion: "All men," he said, "were apt to verge toward extremes, but mortification was still an indispensible Christian duty. If the young man will *rejoice in his youth,* let him take care that his joys be innocent; and in order to this, remember, that *for all these things* God will bring him into judgment. The book had been his "great and old companion," and he thought that "making some grains of allowance, it might be read to great advantage,—nay, that it was almost impossible to

perúse it seriously without admiring, and in some measure imitating its heroic strains of humility, piety, and devotion." But he referred him to his mother, saying, that "she had leisure to boult the matter to the bran." This reference to the judgment of a woman upon such a subject will appear less extraordinary, if it be remembered that the practice of giving girls a learned education, which began in England with the Reformation, had not been laid aside in Mrs. Wesley's youth—that she understood Greek and Latin, and that her early studies had been directed to theology. Her attainments, however, had not made her pedantic; neither had her talents, and the deference which was paid to them by her husband and her children, rendered her in any degree presumptuous. She speaks of herself in this correspondence as being infirm and slow of understanding; but expresses the delight which it gave her to correspond with her son upon such subjects.

The treatise *De Imitatione* appears to have offended Wesley's reason, as well as the instincts of hilarity and youth. But the impression which this writer (whoever he be) failed to make, was produced by the work of a far more powerful intellect, and an imagination infinitely more fervent—Jeremy Taylor's Rules of Holy Living and Dying. He had been trained up in religious habits; and when his religious feelings were once called into action, they soon became pre-eminent above all others. That part in particular of this splendid work which relates to purity of intention, affected him exceed-

ingly. "Instantly," he says, "I resolved to dedicate *all* my life to God,—*all* my thoughts and words, and actions, being thoroughly convinced there was no medium; but that *every part* of my life (not *some* only) must either be a sacrifice to God, or myself,—that is in effect to the Devil." The Imitation, which he had found repulsive at first, appeared so no longer now: Bishop Taylor had prepared the way for the ascetic author, and he began to find in the perusal sensible comfort, such as he was an utter stranger to before. His father, who had once thought him wanting in theopathy, and probably for that reason had advised him to delay his ordination, perceived the change with joy. "God fit you for your great work!" he said to him; "Fast, watch and pray; believe, love, endure and be happy, towards which you shall never want the most ardent prayers of your affectionate father." He removed some scruples which his son expressed concerning the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed,—that creed of which Tillotson wished the church of England were "well rid." "Their point," he said, "was levelled only against obstinate heretics; and a distinction was undoubtedly to be made between what is wilful and what is in some measure involuntary. God certainly will make a difference, and to him it must be left; our business is to keep to the rule which he has given us. As to the main of the cause," he continues, "the best way to deal with our adversaries is to turn the war and their own vaunted arms against them. From balancing the schemes

it will appear, that there are many irreconcileable absurdities and contradictions in theirs, but none such (though indeed some difficulties) in ours. They can never prove a contradiction in our Three and One, unless we affirm them to be so in the same respect, which every child knows we do not. But we can prove there is one in a creature's being a creator, which they assert of our Lord."

It is curious to observe the opinions of the young theologian at this time upon some of those topics, whereon he enlarged so copiously, and acted so decisively in after-life. Jeremy Taylor had remarked that we ought, "in some sense or other, to think ourselves the worst in every company where we come." The duty of absolute humility Wesley at once acknowledged; but he denied that this comparative humility, as he called it, was in our power; it could not be reasonable, or sincere, and therefore it could not be a virtue. The bishop had affirmed, that we know not whether God has forgiven us. Wesley could not assent to this position. "If," said he, "we dwell in Christ and Christ in us, which he will not do unless we are regenerate, certainly we *must* be sensible of it. If we can never have any certainty of our being in a state of salvation, good reason it is that every moment should be spent, not in joy, but in fear and trembling; and then undoubtedly in this life we are of all men most miserable. God deliver us from such a fearful expectation! Humility is undoubtedly necessary to salvation, and if all these things are essential to humility, who can be humble? who can be saved? That we can never

be so certain of the pardon of our sins, as to be assured they will never rise up against us, I firmly believe. We know that they will infallibly do so if we apostatize; and I am not satisfied what evidence there can be of our final perseverance, till we have finished our course. But I am persuaded we may know if we are *now* in a state of salvation, since that is expressly promised in the Holy Scriptures to our sincere endeavours, and we are surely able to judge of our own sincerity." He was startled at that part of our articles which bears a Calvinistic appearance. "As I understand faith," said he, "to be an assent to any truth upon rational grounds, I do not think it possible, without perjury, to swear I believe any thing, unless I have reasonable grounds for my persuasion. Now, that which contradicts reason cannot be said to stand upon reasonable grounds, and such, undoubtedly, is every proposition which is incompatible with the divine justice or mercy. What then shall I say of predestination? If it was inevitably decreed from eternity that a determinate part of mankind should be saved, and none beside them, a vast majority of the world were only born to eternal death, without so much as a possibility of avoiding it. How is this consistent with either the divine justice or mercy? Is it merciful to ordain a creature to everlasting misery? Is it just to punish man for crimes which he could not but commit? That God should be the author of sin and injustice, which must, I think, be the consequence of maintaining this opinion, is a con-

tradiction to the clearest ideas we have of the divine nature and perfections." His mother, to whom these feelings were imparted, agreed with him that the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination was shocking, and ought utterly to be abhorred. The church doctrine, she argued, if it were properly understood, in no wise derogated from God's free grace, nor impaired the liberty of man; for there could be no more reason to suppose that the prescience of God is the cause why so many finally perish, than that our knowing the sun will rise to-morrow is the cause of its rising. But she wondered why men would amuse themselves with searching into the decrees of God, which no human art could fathom, and not rather employ their time and powers in making their own election sure. "Such studies," she said, "tended more to confound than to inform the understanding: but as he had entered upon it, if her thoughts did not satisfy him, he had better consult his father, who was surely much better qualified for a casuist than herself."

The course of these studies, aided also by his meeting, for the first time, with a religious friend, produced a great change in Wesley's frame of mind. He began to alter the whole form of his conversation, and to set in earnest upon a new life. He communicated every week, and began to pray for that inward holiness, of the necessity of which Bishop Taylor had convinced him, and to aim at it with his utmost endeavours. Thus prepared in heart as well as in knowledge, he was ordained in the autumn of the year 1725 by Dr. Potter, then

bishop of Oxford, and afterwards primate. In the ensuing spring he offered himself for a fellowship at Lincoln College. Even in college elections there is play enough for evil passions, and too much license allowed them. Though Wesley was not yet eccentric in his habits of life, the strictness of his religious principles was sufficiently remarkable to afford subject for satire; and his opponents hoped to prevent his success by making him ridiculous. Upon this occasion his father told him it was a callow virtue that could not bear being laughed at. His mother encouraged him in a different manner. "If," said she, "it be a weak virtue that cannot bear being laughed at, I am sure it is a strong and well-confirmed virtue that can stand the test of a brisk buffoonery. Many people, though well inclined, have yet made shipwreck of faith, and a good conscience, merely because they could not bear raillery. I would therefore advise those who are in the beginning of a Christian course, to shun the company of profane wits, as they would the plague or poverty; and never to contract an intimacy with any but such as have a good sense of religion." Notwithstanding this kind of opposition, he attained the object in view, and was elected fellow in March 1726, having been much indebted to his brother Samuel's influence, and to the goodwill of the rector of the college, Dr. Morley. This was a great joy to his father, who was now far advanced in the vale of years. In writing to congratulate him he says, "What will be my own fate before the summer be over, God knows: *sed passi*

graviora.—Wherever I am, my Jack is Fellow of Lincoln."

This removal enabled him to rid himself of all unsympathizing acquaintance, in a manner which he related, sixty years afterwards, in his sermon on leaving the world. "When it pleased God," he says, "to give me a settled resolution to be not a nominal, but a real Christian, (being then about twenty-two years of age,) my acquaintance were as ignorant of God as myself. But there was this difference: I knew my own ignorance; they did not know theirs. I faintly endeavoured to help them, but in vain. Meantime I found, by sad experience, that even their harmless conversation, so called, damped all my good resolutions. But how to get rid of them was the question which I revolved in my mind again and again. I saw no possible way, unless it should please God to remove me to another College. He did so, in a manner utterly contrary to all human probability. I was elected fellow of a college, where I knew not one person. I foresaw abundance of people would come to see me, either out of friendship, civility, or curiosity, and that I should have offers of acquaintance new and old; but I had now fixed my plan. Entering now, as it were, into a new world, I resolved to have no acquaintance by chance, but by choice, and to choose such only as I had reason to believe would help me on my way to heaven. In consequence of this, I narrowly observed the temper and behaviour of all that visited me. I saw no reason to think that the greater part of these truly

loved or feared God. Such acquaintance, therefore, I did not choose: I could not expect they would do me any good. Therefore, when any of these came, I behaved as courteously as I could: but to the question, 'When will you come to see me?' I returned no answer. When they had come a few times, and found I still declined returning the visit, I saw them no more. And I bless God," he adds, "this has been my invariable rule for about threescore years. I knew many reflections would follow; but that did not move me, as I knew full well it was my calling to go *through evil report and good report.*"

From this time Wesley began to keep a diary, according to a practice which at one time was very general among persons religiously disposed. To this practice the world owes some valuable materials for history as well as individual biography; but perhaps no person has, in this manner, conveyed so lively a picture of himself as Wesley. During a most restless life of incessant occupation he found time to register not only his proceedings, but his thoughts, his studies, and his occasional remarks upon men and books, and not unfrequently upon miscellaneous subjects, with a vivacity which characterised him to the last. Eight months after his election to a fellowship, he was appointed Greek lecturer and moderator of the classes. At that time disputations were held six times a week at Lincoln College; and however the students may have profited by them, they were of singular use to the moderator. "I could not

avoid," he says, "acquiring hereby some degree of expertness in arguing; and especially in discerning and pointing out well-covered and plausible fallacies. I have since found abundant reason to praise God for giving me this honest art. By this, when men have hedged me in by what they called demonstrations, I have been many times able to dash them in pieces; in spite of all its covers, to touch the very point where the fallacy lay, and it flew open in a moment." He now formed for himself a scheme of studies, resolving not to vary from it for some years at least. Mondays and Tuesdays were allotted for the classics; Wednesdays to logic and ethics; Thursdays to Hebrew and Arabic; Fridays to metaphysics and natural philosophy; Saturdays to oratory and poetry, but chiefly to composition in those arts; and the Sabbath to divinity. It appears by his diary, also, that he gave great attention to mathematics. But he had come to that conclusion, at which, sooner or later, every studious man must arrive,—that life is not long enough for the attainment of general knowledge, and that there are many things of which the most learned must content themselves to be ignorant. He says to his mother, "I am perfectly come over to your opinion, that there are many truths it is not worth while to know. Curiosity, indeed, might be a sufficient plea for our laying out some time upon them, if we had half a dozen centuries of lives to come; but methinks it is great ill husbandry to spend a considerable part of the small pittance now allowed us, in what

makes us neither a quick nor a sure return." Full of business as he now was, he found time for writing by rising an hour earlier in the morning, and going into company an hour later in the evening.

As his religious feelings grew upon him, that state of mind came on which led the enthusiasts of early ages into the wilderness. He began to think that such society as that wherein he was placed, hindered his progress in spiritual things. He thought it "the settled temper of his soul," that he should, for some time at least, prefer such a retirement as might seclude him from all the world, where he might confirm in himself those habits which he thought best, before the flexibility of youth should be over. A school was proposed to him, with a good salary annexed to it, in one of the Yorkshire dales. Some persons, who knew the place, gave him what they thought a frightful description of it, according to the fashion of an age in which the sense of picturesque beauty seems hardly to have existed. They told him that it was a little vale, so pent up between two hills, that it was scarcely accessible on any side; little company was to be expected from without, and there was none within. "I should therefore," says he, "be entirely at liberty to converse with company of my own choosing, whom, for that reason, I would bring with me; and company equally agreeable, wherever I fixed, could not put me to less expense.

"The sun that walks his airy way,
To cheer the world and bring the day:
The moon that shines with borrowed light,
The stars that gild the gloomy night;

All of these, and all I see,
Should be sung, and sung by me:
These praise their Maker as they can,
But want and ask the tongue of man."

The option of this retirement, to which he seems at this time to have been so well inclined, was not given him, and his mother was not sorry that the school was otherwise disposed of: "That way of life," she said, "would not agree with your constitution, and I hope God has better work for you to do;" words which, perhaps, in after-years, carried with them a prophetic import and impulse to his imagination. The elder Wesley was now, from age and infirmity, become unequal to the duty of both his livings, especially as the road between them was bad, and sometimes dangerous in the winter. John therefore, at his desire, went to reside at Wroote, and officiated there as his curate. Though a native of the county, he did not escape the ague, which was then its endemic malady; and perhaps it was fortunate for him, after two years, to be summoned to his college, upon a regulation that the junior fellows, who might be chosen moderators, should attend in person the duties of their office. It was while he held this curacy that he obtained priest's orders from the same prelate who had ordained him deacon three years before.

In consequence of this summons he once more took up his abode at Lincoln College, became a tutor there, and presided as moderator at the disputations which were held six times a week in the hall; an office which exercised and sharpened his

habits of logical discrimination. Some time before his return to the University, he had travelled many miles to see what is called "a serious man." This person said to him, "Sir, you wish to serve God and go to heaven. Remember, you cannot serve him alone: you must therefore *find* companions or *make* them: the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion." Wesley never forgot these words; and it happened that while he was residing upon his curacy, such a society was prepared for him at Oxford as he and his serious adviser would have wished.

While Charles Wesley was at Westminster under his brother, a gentleman of large fortune in Ireland, and of the same family name, wrote to the father, and inquired of him if he had a son named Charles; for if so, he would make him his heir. Accordingly his school bills, during several years, were discharged by his unseen namesake. At length a gentleman, who is supposed to have been this Mr. Wesley, called upon him, and after much conversation, asked if he was willing to accompany him to Ireland: the youth desired to write to his father before he could make answer: the father left it to his own decision, and he, who was satisfied with the fair prospects which Christ Church opened to him, chose to stay in England. John Wesley, in his account of his brother, calls this a fair escape: the fact is more remarkable than he was aware of; for the person who inherited the property intended for Charles Wesley, and who took the name of Wesley, or Wellesley, in conse-

quence, was the first Earl of Mornington, grandfather of Marquis Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington. Had Charles made a different choice, there might have been no Methodists, the British Empire in India might still have been menaced from Seringapatam, and the undisputed tyrant of Europe might at this time have insulted and endangered us on our own shores.

Charles, then pursuing contentedly his scholastic course, had been elected from Westminster to Christ Church, just after his brother John obtained his fellowship. He was diligent in study, and regular in his conduct; but when John sought to press upon him the importance of austerer habits, and a more active devotion, he protested against becoming a saint all at once, and turned a deaf ear to his admonitions. While John, however, resided at Wroote, the process which he had vainly sought to accelerate in his brother, was going on. His disposition, his early education, the example of his parents and of both his brethren, were in unison: not knowing how or when he woke out of his lethargy, he imputed the change to the efficacy of another's prayers,—most likely, he said, his mother's; and meeting with two or three undergraduates, whose inclinations and principles resembled his own, they associated together for the purpose of religious improvement, lived by rule, and received the sacrament weekly. Such conduct would at any time have attracted observation in an English university; it was peculiarly noticeable at that time, when a laxity of opinions as well as morals

obtained, and infidelity, a plague which had lately found its way into the country, was becoming so prevalent, that the vice-chancellor had, in a *programma*, exhorted the tutors to discharge their duty by double diligence, and had forbidden the undergraduates to read such books as might tend to the weakening of their faith. The greatest prudence would not have sufficed to save men from ridicule, who at such an age, and in such a scene, professed to make religion the great business of their lives: and prudence is rarely united with enthusiasm. They were called in derision the Sacramentarians, Bible-bigots, Bible-moths, the Holy, or the Godly Club. One person, with less irreverence and more learning, observed, in reference to their methodical manner of life, that a new sect of Methodists was sprung up, alluding to the ancient school of physicians known by that name. Appellations, even of opprobrious origin, have often been adopted by the parties to which they were applied, as well as by the public, convenience legitimating the inventions of malice. In this instance there was neither maliciousness nor wit, but there was some fitness in the name; it obtained * vogue; and though long, and even still sometimes indiscriminately applied to all enthusiasts, and even to all who observe the forms of religion more strictly than their neighbours, it has

* The Rev. J. Chapman says, in a letter to Wesley, "The name Methodist is not a new name, never before given to any religious people. Dr. Calamy, in one of his volumes of the Ejected Ministers, observes, they called those who stood up for God, Methodists.

become the appropriate designation of the sect of which Wesley is the founder.

It was to Charles Wesley and his few associates that the name was first given. When John returned to Oxford, they gladly placed themselves under his direction; their meetings acquired more form and regularity, and obtained an accession of numbers. His standing and character in the university gave him a degree of credit; and his erudition, his keen logic, and ready speech, commanded respect wherever he was known. But no talents, and, it may be added, no virtues, can protect the possessor from the ridicule of fools and profligates. "I hear," says Mr. Wesley, "my son John has the honour of being styled the Father of the Holy Club: if it be so, I am sure I must be the grandfather of it: and I need not say, that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished, than to have the title of His Holiness."

One of the earliest members of this little society, Mr. Morgan, seems to have been morbidly constituted both in body and mind: and by the practice of rigorous fasting, he injured a constitution which required a very different treatment. But if his religion, in this point erroneous, led him to impose improper privations upon himself, it made him indefatigable in acts of real charity toward others: his heart and his purse were open to the poor and needy; he instructed little children, he visited the sick, and he prayed with the prisoners. In these things he led the way; and the Wesleys, who were not backward in following, have commemorated

his virtues as they deserve. Morgan died young, after a long illness, in which the misery of a gloomy and mistaken religion aggravated the sufferings of disease. Wesley was accused of having been the cause of his death, by leading him into those austerities which undoubtedly had accelerated it: but in these practices Wesley had been the imitator, not the example; and the father, who had at first expressed great indignation at the extravagancies of his son's associates, was so well convinced of this at last, that he placed one of his children under his care. Two others of the party were men who afterwards acquired celebrity. James Hervey was one, author of the Meditations, a book which has been translated into most European languages, and for the shallowness of its matter, its superficial sentimentality, and its tinsel style, as much as for its devotional spirit, has become singularly popular. Whitefield was the other, a man so eminently connected with the rise and progress of Methodism, that his history cannot be separated from that of Wesley.

George Whitefield was born at the Bell Inn, in the city of Gloucester, at the close of the year 1714. He describes himself as froward from his mother's womb; so brutish as to hate instruction; stealing from his mother's pocket, and frequently appropriating to his own use the money that he took in the house. "If I trace myself," he says, "from my cradle to my manhood, I can see nothing in me but a fitness to be damned; and if the Almighty had not prevented me by his grace, I

had now either been sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, or condemned, as the due reward of my crimes, to be for ever lifting up my eyes in torments." Yet Whitefield could recollect early movings of the heart, which satisfied him in after-life, that "God loved him with an everlasting love, and had separated him even from his mother's womb, for the work to which he afterwards was pleased to call him." He had a devout disposition, and a tender heart. When he was about ten years old, his mother made a second marriage: it proved an unhappy one. During the affliction to which this led, his brother used to read aloud Bishop Ken's Manual for Winchester Scholars. This book affected George Whitefield greatly; and when the corporation, at their annual visitation of St. Mary de Crypt's school, where he was educated, gave him, according to custom, money for the speeches which he was chosen to deliver, he purchased the book, and found it, he says, of great benefit to his soul.

Whitefield's talents for elocution, which made him afterwards so great a performer in the pulpit, were at this time in some danger of receiving a theatrical direction. The boys at the grammar-school were fond of acting plays: the master, "seeing how their vein ran," encouraged it, and composed a dramatic piece himself, which they represented before the corporation, and in which Whitefield enacted a woman's part, and appeared in girl's clothes. The remembrance of this, he says, had often covered him with confusion of face,

and he hoped it would do so even to the end of his life! Before he was fifteen, he persuaded his mother to take him from school, saying, that she could not place him at the university, and more learning would only spoil him for a tradesman. Her own circumstances, indeed, were by this time so much on the decline, that his menial services were required: he began occasionally to assist her in the public-house, till at length he "put on his blue apron and his snuffers*, washed mops, cleaned rooms, and became a professed and common drawer." In the little leisure which such employments allowed, this strange boy composed two or three sermons; and the romances, which had been his heart's delight, gave place for awhile to Thomas à Kempis.

When he had been about a year in this servile occupation, the inn was made over to a married brother, and George, being accustomed to the house, continued there as an assistant; but he could not agree with his sister-in-law, and after much uneasiness gave up the situation. His mother, though her means were scanty, permitted him to have a bed upon the ground in her house, and live with her, till Providence should point out a place for him. The way was soon indicated. A servitor of Pembroke College called upon his mother, and in the course of conversation told her, that after all his college expenses for that quarter were

* So the word is printed in his own account of his life; it seems to mean the sleeves which are worn by cleanly men in dirty employments, and may possibly be a misprint for *scoggers*, as such sleeves are called in some parts of England.

discharged, he had received a penny. She immediately cried out, this will do for my son; and turning to him said, Will you go to Oxford, George? Happening to have the same friends as this young man, she waited on them without delay; they promised their interest to obtain a servitor's place in the same college, and in reliance upon this George returned to the grammar-school. Here he applied closely to his books, and shaking off by the strong effort of a religious mind, all evil and idle courses, produced, by the influence of his talents and example, some reformation among his schoolfellows. He attended public service constantly, received the sacrament monthly, fasted often, and prayed often more than twice a day in private. At the age of eighteen he was removed to Oxford; the recommendation of his friends was successful; another friend borrowed for him ten pounds, to defray the expense of entering; and with a good fortune beyond his hopes, he was admitted servitor immediately.

Servitorships are more in the spirit of a Roman Catholic than of an English establishment. Among the Catholics religious poverty is made respectable, because it is accounted a virtue; and humiliation is an essential part of monastic discipline. But in our state of things it cannot be wise to brand men with the mark of inferiority; the line is already broad enough. Oxford would do well if, in this respect, it imitated Cambridge, abolished an invidious distinction of dress, and dispensed with services which, even when they are not mortifying to those who perform them, are painful to those to

whom they are performed. Whitefield found the advantage of having been used to a public-house; many who could choose their servitor preferred him, because of his diligent and alert attendance; and thus, by help of the profits of the place, and some little presents made him by a kind-hearted tutor, he was enabled to live without being beholden to his relations for more than four-and-twenty pounds, in the course of three years. Little as this is, it shows, when compared with the ways and means of the elder Wesley at college, that half a century had greatly enhanced the expenses of Oxford. At first he was rendered uncomfortable by the society intowhich he was thrown; he had several chamber fellows, who would fain have made him join them in their riotous mode of life; and as he could only escape from their persecutions by sitting alone in his study, he was sometimes benumbed with cold; but when they perceived the strength as well as the singularity of his character, they suffered him to take his own way in peace.

Before Whitefield went to Oxford, he had heard of the young men there who "lived by rule and method," and were therefore called Methodists. They were now much talked of, and generally despised. He, however, was drawn toward them by kindred feelings, defended them strenuously when he heard them reviled, and when he saw them go through a ridiculing crowd to receive the sacrament at St. Mary's, was strongly inclined to follow their example. For more than a year he yearned to be acquainted with them; and it seems that the sense of his inferior condition kept him back. At

length the great object of his desires was effected. A pauper had attempted suicide, and Whitefield sent a poor woman to inform Charles Wesley that he might visit the person, and minister spiritual medicine: the messenger was charged not to say who sent her; contrary to these orders, she told his name, and Charles Wesley, who had seen him frequently walking by himself, and heard something of his character, invited him to breakfast the next morning. An introduction to this little fellowship soon followed; and he also, like them, "began to live by rule, and to pick up the very fragments of his time, that not a moment of it might be lost."

They were now about fifteen in number: when first they began to meet, they read divinity on Sunday evenings only, and pursued their classical studies on other nights; but religion soon became the sole business of their meetings: they now regularly visited the prisoners and the sick, communicated once a week, and fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, the stationary days of the Ancient Church, which were thus set apart, because on those days our Saviour had been betrayed and crucified. They also drew up a scheme of self-examination, to assist themselves, by means of prayer and meditation, in attaining simplicity and the love of God. Except that it speaks of obeying the laws of the Church of England, it might fitly be appended to the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola. Its obvious faults were, that such self-examination would leave little time for any thing else; that the habits of life which it requires and pre-supposes would be as burthensome as the rules

of the monastic orders; and that the proposed simplicity would generally end in producing the worst of artificial characters; for where it made one out of a thousand a saint, it would make the rest inevitably formalists and hypocrites. Religion is defined in this scheme to be *a recovery of the image of God.* It cannot be doubted that they who framed it were filled with devotion the most fervent, and charity the most unbounded, however injudicious in many respects the means were whereby they thought to promote and strengthen such dispositions in themselves. But Wesley, when he had advanced in his career, looked back upon himself as having been at this time in a state of great spiritual ignorance: and the two leading ministers, who drew up for the use of the Methodists, and under the sanction of the collected preachers, the life of their founder, remark, that in this scheme the great sincerity and earnestness of Wesley and his friends are discernible, but that "the darkness of their minds as to gospel truths is very evident to those who are favoured with true evangelical views."

To the younger members of the University their conduct, which now rather affected singularity than avoided it, was matter of general ridicule; and there were elder and wiser heads who disapproved their course, as leading fast toward enthusiasm and extravagance. Wesley had not yet that confidence in his own judgment by which he was afterwards so strongly characterized, and he wrote to his father for advice. The principles upon

which he proceeded were unexceptionable, the motives excellent: and the circumstances which gave offence, and excited just apprehension, would not only be unintentionally softened in his own representation, but would lose much of their weight when reported from a distance, and through this channel, to one who was prepossessed by natural affection. The father says in reply, "As to your designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *valde probo*: and that I have the highest reason to bless God for giving me two sons together at Oxford, to whom he has given grace and courage to turn the war against the World and the Devil, which is the best way to conquer them." He advised them to obtain the approbation of the Bishop for visiting the prisoners; and encouraged them by saying, that when he was an under-graduate he had performed this work of charity, and reflected on it with great comfort now in his latter days. "You have reason," he says, "to bless God, as I do, that you have so fast a friend as Mr. Morgan, who I see, in the most difficult service, is ready to break the ice for you. I think I must adopt him to be my son together with you and your brother Charles; and when I have such a Ternion to prosecute that war, wherein I am now *miles emeritus*, I shall not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate. If it be possible, I should be glad to see you all three here in the fine end of the summer. But if I cannot have that satisfaction, I am sure I can reach you every day, though you were beyond the Indies." He exhorted them to walk

prudently, though not fearfully; and prayed that God would keep them humble. "Be not high-minded," said he; "preserve an equal temper of mind under whatever treatment you meet with from a not very just or well-natured world. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourselves for these unfashionable duties, (as there is no such thing as works of supererogation,) the more all good and wise men will value you, if they see your actions are of a piece; and what is infinitely more, He by whom actions and intentions are weighed will both accept and reward you."

Thus encouraged and thus advised, Wesley consulted the Bishop, who sanctioned and approved their visiting the prisons. This was no doubtful matter; the parts of their conduct which he might have regarded with disapprobation, were precisely those upon which it would not be thought necessary to consult him. About this time Wesley became personally acquainted with William Law, a man whose writings completed what Jeremy Taylor, and the treatise *De Imitatione Christi*, had begun. When first he visited him, he was prepared to object to his views of Christian duty as too elevated to be attainable; but Law silenced and satisfied him by replying, "We shall do well to aim at the highest degrees of perfection, if we may thereby at least attain to mediocrity." Law is a powerful writer: it is said that few books have ever made so many religious enthusiasts as his Christian Perfection and his Serious Call: indeed

the youth who should read them without being perilously affected, must have either a light mind or an unusually strong one. But Law himself, who has shaken so many intellects, sacrificed his own at last to the reveries and rhapsodies of Jacob Behmen. Perhaps the art of engraving was never applied to a more extraordinary purpose, nor in a more extraordinary manner, than when the nonsense of the German shoemaker was elucidated in a series of prints after Law's designs, representing the anatomy of the spiritual man. His own happiness, however, was certainly not diminished by the change: the system of the ascetic is dark and cheerless; but mysticism lives in a sunshine of its own, and dreams of the light of heaven, while the visions of the ascetic are such as the fear of the devil produces, rather than the love of God. It was in his happier state of mind that Law was found by Wesley, and in this spirit he said to him, "You would have a philosophical religion, but there can be no such thing. Religion is the most plain, simple thing in the world. It is only, *we love Him because He first loved us.*" Wesley on one occasion confessed to him that he felt greatly dejected, because he saw so little fruit from his labours. "My dear friend," replied Law, "you reverse matters from their proper order. You are to follow the Divine Light, wherever it leads you, in all your conduct. It is God alone that gives the blessing. I pray you always mind your own work, and go on with cheerfulness; and God, you may depend upon it, will take care of his. Be-

sides, Sir, I perceive you would fain convert the world! but you must wait God's own time. Nay, if after all he is pleased to use you only as a hewer of wood or a drawer of water, you should submit, —yea, you should be thankful to him that he has honoured you so far."

These visits to Law, who at that time resided near London, were performed on foot, the Wesleys travelling in this manner that they might save the more money for the poor. It was so little the custom in that age for men in their rank of life to walk any distance, as to make them think it a discovery that four or five-and-twenty miles are an easy and safe day's journey. They discovered also, with equal surprise, that it is easy to read while walking, and that it neither made them faint, nor produced any other symptom of weariness. Some years afterwards, when John carried his economy of time to the utmost, he used to read on horseback, till some severe falls, which he met with in consequence, convinced him that this practice might probably cost him his life. The brothers also accustomed themselves to converse together in Latin, whenever they were alone: when they had subsequently much intercourse with the Moravians, they found the great advantage of having acquired this power. It is indeed a notorious defect in modern education, that the habit of speaking a language, which is every where understood by all educated men, should no where be taught in schools as a regular part of the course of instruction. Yet Wesley's mind was now in that per-

turbed and restless state, that he began to doubt the utility, and even the lawfulness, of carnal studies. In a letter to his mother, written under evident disquietude, he says, "To all who give signs of their not being strangers to it, I propose this question,—and why not to you rather than any?—shall I quite break off my pursuit of all learning, but what immediately tends to practice? I once desired to make a fair show in languages and philosophy; but it is past: there is a more excellent way, and if I cannot attain to any progress in the one, without throwing up all thoughts of the other, why, fare it well! Yet a little while, and we shall all be equal in knowledge if we are in virtue." In the same letter he says, "I am to renounce the world,—to draw off my affections from this world, and fix them on a better: but how? what is the surest and the shortest way? Is it not to be humble? surely this is a large step in the way. But the question occurs, how am I to do this? To own the necessity of it is not to be humble. In many things you have interceded for me and prevailed: who knows but in this too you may be successful? If you can spare me only that little part of Thursday evening which you formerly bestowed upon me in another manner, I doubt not but it would be as useful now for correcting my heart, as it was then for forming my judgment.—When I observe how fast life flies away, and how slow improvement comes, I think one can never be too much afraid of dying before one has learned to live."

The good intentions of Wesley and his associates could not be questioned; but they were now running fast into fanaticism; and a meeting was held at Christ Church, by the Seniors of the College, to consult in what manner the evil might be checked. The report in Oxford was, that the Dean and the Censors were going to blow up the Godly Club. When Samuel Wesley heard of this, he called it an execrable consultation, in order to stop the progress of religion, by giving it a false name. He did not like, he said, that they should be "called a club, for that name was really calculated to do mischief: but the charge of enthusiasm could weigh with none but such as drink away their senses, or never had any; for surely activity in social duties, and a strict attendance on the ordained means of grace, are the strongest guards imaginable against it." However, it was not long before Samuel, who was of riper judgment than his brother, and of a less ardent disposition, began to perceive that John was carrying his principles to excess, and that he excited injurious prejudices against himself, by affecting singularity in things which were of no importance. Wesley, in defending himself, observed, that the most unpopular of his habits were those of early rising and keeping little company, in the propriety of which there could be no difference of opinion between them. "It is not hard," he says, "that even those who are with us should be against us:—that a man's enemies, in some degree, should be those of the same household of faith? Yet so it is. From the

time that a man sets himself to this business, very many even of those who travel the same road,—many of those who are before as well as behind him,—will lay stumbling-blocks in his way. One blames him for not going fast enough, another for having made no further progress, another for going too far, which, perhaps, strange as it is, is the more common charge of the two; for this comes from all people of all sorts; not only infidels, not only half Christians, but some of the best of men are very apt to make this reflection: 'he lays unnecessary burdens upon himself; he is too precise; he does what God has no where required to be done.' True, all men are not required to use all means, but every man is required to use those which he finds most useful to himself. It will be said," he pursued, "I am whimsical. If by whimsical be meant simply *singular*, I own it; if singular without any reason, I deny it with both my hands, and am ready to give a reason, to any that asks me, of every custom wherein I differ from the world. As to my being formal, if by that be meant that I am not easy and unaffected enough in my carriage, it is very true; but how shall I help it? If by formal be meant that I am serious, this, too, is very true; but why should I help it?"

Wesley would not be at the expense of having his hair dressed, in order that the money which would otherwise have been employed in this vile fashion might be given to the poor: he wore it remarkably long, and flowing loose upon his

shoulders. "As to my hair," he said, "I am much more sure that what this enables me to do is according to the Scripture, than I am that the length of it is contrary to it." His mother fancied that this fashion injured his health, for he was often indisposed; and therefore she urged him to have it taken off. To this he objected, because it would cause an additional expense, which would lessen his means of relieving the needy. Samuel proposed the middle course of cutting it shorter, by which means the singularity of his appearance would be lessened, without entrenching upon his meritorious economy. This was the only instance in which he condescended, in any degree, to the opinion of others. Soon afterwards Samuel went to Oxford, that he might form a better opinion of his brethren's demeanour upon the spot, than could be formed from the contradictory accounts which reached him. Their general conduct, and all their principles, received his unqualified approbation: but he perceived that Morgan was far gone in his fatal malady, was diseased in mind as well as body, and had fallen into that wretched state of weakness in which religion, instead of food and support, was, by a deplorable perversion of its nature, converted into poison. He perceived also that John was pursuing habits of austerity in such disregard of health, as if he were eager for death, and was an enemy to his own frail carcase. Morgan did not live long; and it appeared probable that Wesley would soon follow him to that world, the preparation for which they seemed to consider not

merely as the most important, but as the sole business of this. Hard study, exercise carried sometimes in his journies beyond his strength, the exertion of frequent preaching and earnest discourse, fasting upon all the appointed days of the Ancient Church, and a most abstemious diet at all times, had reduced him to an alarming condition. Frequent spitting of blood indicated the consequences which might be apprehended; at length he was awakened at midnight by the breaking of a blood-vessel; and he has recorded in his private diary, that thinking himself at that moment on the brink of eternity, he cried to God, "Oh prepare me for thy coming, and come when thou wilt!". This attack compelled him to put himself under the direction of medical men, and after awhile he thoroughly recovered.

About this time Samuel finding that promotion at Westminster was hopeless, on account of his connection with a party who were deservedly obnoxious to government, accepted the mastership of Tiverton school. Before he removed so far westward, he went to visit his parents at Epworth, and there his two brothers met him, that the whole family might, for the last time in this world, be gathered together. Among the many solemn circumstances of human life, few can be more solemn than such a meeting. For some years their father had been declining; and he was very solicitous that the cure in which he had laboured faithfully during so long a course of years should be obtained for his son John, if possible, from an

anxious desire that the good which he had effected might not be lost through the carelessness of a lukewarm successor; and that his wife and daughters might not be dispossessed of the home wherein the one had lived so long, and the others had been born and bred. Wesley, who had not before thought of such a proposal, gave no opinion upon it now; but in the ensuing year his father pressed him to apply for the next presentation, and Samuel urged him to the same effect. At first he seems to have hesitated how to decide. "I know," says he, writing from Oxford upon the subject, "if I could stand my ground here, and approve myself a faithful minister of our blessed Jesus, by honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report, then there would not be a place under heaven like this for improvement in every good work." An absence of some little time from Oxford had shown how soon the effects of all his exertions might be counteracted. One of his pupils confessed that he was becoming more and more afraid of singularity; another had studied some of Mr. Locke's writings, which had convinced him of the mischief of regarding authority; a third had been converted from fasting by a fever and a physician. The little body of his associates had diminished in number from seven-and-twenty to five. These things made him reflect closely: the ill consequences of his singularity were diminution of fortune, loss of friends and of reputation. "As to my fortune," said he, "I well know, though perhaps others do not, that I could not have borne a larger than I have. For friends, they were either

trifling or serious: if triflers, fare them well, a noble escape; if serious, those who are more serious are left. And as for reputation, though it be a glorious instrument of advancing our Master's service, yet there is a better than that, a clean heart, a single eye, and a soul full of God. A fair exchange, if, by the loss of reputation, we can purchase the lowest degree of purity of heart."

These considerations led to the conclusion, that there was little prospect of doing any lasting good in his present situation; and when the fitness of settling at Epworth, if the succession could be obtained, was pressed upon him, he considered it not so much with reference to his utility, as to his own well-being in spiritual things. The question, as it appeared to him, was not whether he could do more good to others there or at Oxford, but whether he could do more good to himself, seeing that wherever he could be most holy himself, there he could most promote holiness in others; but he could improve himself more at Oxford than at any other place, and at Oxford therefore he determined to remain. This reasoning was well answered by his father; who told him, that even at Oxford he might have promoted holiness much more than he had done, if he had taken the right method, "for there is a particular turn of mind for these matters, great prudence as well as great fervour. I cannot," he said, "allow austerity or fasting, considered by themselves, to be proper acts of holiness, nor am I for a solitary life. God made us for a social life. We are to let our light shine be-

fore men, and that not barely through the chinks of a bushel for fear the wind should blow it out; the design of lighting it was, that it might give light to all who went into the house of God. And to this academical studies are only preparatory." He concluded, with singular force and eloquent earnestness, in these words: "We are not to fix our view on one single point of duty, but to take in the complicated view of all the circumstances in every state of life that offers. Thus is the case before us: put all the circumstances together: if you are not indifferent whether the labours of an aged father, for above forty years in God's vineyard, be lost, and the fences of it trodden down and destroyed;—if you consider that Mr. M. must in all probability succeed me if you do not, and that the prospect of that mighty Nimrod's coming hither shocks my soul, and is in a fair way of bringing down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave;—if you have any care for our family, which must be dismally shattered as soon as I am dropt;—if you reflect on the dear love and longing which this poor people has for you, whereby you will be enabled to do God the more service, and the plenteousness of the harvest, consisting of near two thousand souls, whereas you have not many more souls in the University;—you may perhaps alter your mind, and bend your will to His, who has promised if in all our ways we acknowledge Him, He will direct our paths."

Samuel, when he heard that his brother had declared himself unalterably resolved not to accept

the living if he could get it, knew him, as he said, well enough to believe that no one could move his mind, except He who made it. Without, therefore, drawing the saw of controversy, as he called it, he set before him his own example. "I left Oxford," said he, "with all its opportunity of good, on a worldly account, at my father's desire. I left my last settlement by the same determination, and should have thought I sinned both times if I had not followed it." And he pressed upon John the simple proposition, that having taken orders, he was solemnly engaged to undertake the cure of souls before God, and his High Priest and his Church. Wesley replied both to his father and his brother in a manner more characteristic of the man than creditable to his judgment. He argued as if his own salvation would be rendered impossible at Epworth: he could not, he said, stand his ground there for a month, against intemperance in sleeping, eating, and drinking; his spirit would thus be dissolved; the cares and desires of the world would roll back with a full tide upon him, and while he preached to others, he should be a castaway himself. Uninterrupted freedom from trifling acquaintance was necessary for him: he dreaded, as the bane of piety, the company of good sort of men, lukewarm Christians, persons that have a great concern for religion, but no sense of it. "They undermine insensibly," says he, "all my resolutions, and quite steal from me the little fervour I have. I never come from among these saints of the world (as John Valdesso calls them)

faint, dissipated, and shorn of all my strength, but I say, God deliver me from a half Christian!" *Agitur de vita et sanguine Turni:* the point was, whether he should serve Christ or Belial. He stood in need of persons nearly of his own judgment, and engaged in the same studies; persons who were awakened into a full and lively conviction that they had only one work to do upon earth; who had absolutely devoted themselves to God; who took up their cross daily; who would constantly watch over his soul, and, according to the occasion, administer reproof, advice, or exhortation with all plainness and all gentleness. But this was a blessing which he could enjoy no where but at Oxford. There also he knew none of the cares of the world; he heard of such things, and read of them, but he knew them not: whatever he wanted was provided for him there, without any expense of thought. There, too, he endured that contempt which is a part of the cross, that every man who would follow his Saviour must bear. Every true Christian, he said, is contemned by all who are not so, and who know him to be such: until he be thus contemned no man is in a state of salvation; for though a man may be despised without being saved, ye he cannot be saved without being despised. More good also, he averred, was to be done to others by his continuance at Oxford; the schools of the prophets were there: was it not a more extensive benefit to sweeten the fountain, than to purify a particular stream? And for the argument, that Epworth was a wider sphere of

action, where he would have the charge of two thousand souls, he exclaimed, "Two thousand souls! I see not how any man living can take care of an hundred." If any stress be laid upon the love of the people at Epworth.—"I ask how long will it last? Only till I come to tell them plainly that their deeds are evil, and to make a particular application of that general sentence, to say to each, *Thou art the man!* Alas, Sir, do I not know what love they had for you at first? And how have they used you since? Why, just as every one will be used whose business it is to bring light to them that love to sit in darkness!" To the concluding part of his father's letter he replied thus: "As for the flock committed to your care, whom for many years you have diligently fed with the sincere milk of the word, I trust in God your labour shall not be in vain, either to yourself or them. Many of them the Great Shepherd has, by your hand, delivered from the hand of the destroyer, some of whom are already entered into peace, and some remain unto this day. For yourself, I doubt not, but when your warfare is accomplished, when you are made perfect through sufferings, you shall come to your grave, not with sorrow, but as a ripe shock of corn, full of years and victories. And He that took care of the poor sheep before you were born, will not forget them when you are dead."

This letter convinced Samuel how unavailing it must needs be to reason farther with one who was possessed by such notions. Nevertheless, as John

had requested to know his farther thoughts, he asked him if all his labours were come to this, that more was absolutely necessary for the very being of his Christian life, than for the salvation of all the parish priests in England. "What you say of contempt," said he, "is nothing to the purpose; for if you will go to Epworth, I will answer for it you shall, in a competent time, be despised as much as your heart can wish." But he maintained that there was not in Euclid a proposition more certain than this; that a man must be esteemed in order to be useful; and he rested the case upon his former argument, that a general resolution against undertaking the cure of souls, was contrary to his engagement at ordination: "The order of the Church," said he, "stakes you down, and the more you struggle will hold the faster. You must, when opportunity offers, either perform that promise or repent of it: *utrum mavis?* which do you prefer?" Wesley admitted the force of his ordination oath, but denied that it had this meaning. But acknowledging the established principle, that the mode and extent of the obligation which an oath imposes are not to be determined by him who takes, but by him who requires it, he wrote to the Bishop who ordained him, proposing this single question, whether, at ordination, he had engaged himself to undertake the cure of a parish or not? The Bishop's answer was in these words, "It doth not seem to me that, at your ordination, you engaged yourself to undertake the cure of any parish, provided you can, as a clergyman, better serve

God and his Church in your present or some other station." Wesley believed he had all reasonable evidence that this was the case, and here the discussion ended. He had made it an affair of religious casuistry, and therefore the interest of his mother and sisters in the decision, nearly as this point lay at the father's heart, seems to have been totally disregarded by him as unworthy of any consideration.

CHAPTER III.

WESLEY IN AMERICA.

WESLEY the father died in the ensuing April, at a good old age, and ripe for immortality. John and Charles were with him during the last stage of his illness. A few days before his departure he said to them, "The weaker I am in body, the stronger and more sensible support I feel from God. There is but a step between me and death. To-morrow I would see you all with me round this table, that we may once more drink of the Cup of Blessing, before we drink it new in the kingdom of God. With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I die." On the morrow he was so exceeding weak and full of pain, that he could not receive the elements without difficulty, and often repeated, "Thou shakest me, thou shakest me!" He had no fear of death, and the peace of God which he enjoyed appeared sometimes to suspend his bodily sufferings, and when they recurred, to sustain his mind above them. When, as nature seemed spent, and his speech was failing, his son John asked him whether he was not near heaven, he answered, "Yes, I am," distinctly, and with a voice of hope and joy. After John had used the commendatory prayer, he said,

"Now you have done all:" these were his last words, and he passed away so peacefully and insensibly, that his children continued over him a considerable time in doubt whether or not the spirit was departed. Mrs. Wesley, who for several days, whenever she entered his chamber, had been carried out of it in a fit, recovered her fortitude now, and said her prayers were heard, for God had granted him an easy death, and had strengthened her to bear it.

The mother and daughter were left with little or no provision; and a brutal woman, of whom Mr. Wesley rented a few fields, seized the live stock on the very day of his funeral, for a debt of fifteen pounds. Samuel was now their support: "If you take London in your way," said Charles to him, "my mother desires you would remember she is a Clergyman's widow. Let the Society give her what they please, she must be still, in some degree, *burthensome* to you, as she calls it. How do I envy you that glorious burthen, and wish I could share in it! You must put me into some way of getting a little money, that I may do something in this shipwreck of the family."

The latest human desires of this good man were, that he might complete his work upon the book of Job, pay his debts, and see his eldest son once more. The first of these desires seems to have been nearly, if not wholly accomplished; and John was charged to present the volume to Queen Caroline. Going to London on this commission, he found that the trustees of the new colony of

Georgia were in search of persons who would preach the gospel there to the settlers and the Indians, and that they had fixed their eyes upon him and his associates, as men who appeared to possess the habits and qualities required for such a service. Dr. Burton, of Corpus Christi College, was one of the trustees: he was well acquainted with Wesley, and being at this time in London, introduced him to Mr. Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony. At first when it was proposed to him to go upon this mission, he peremptorily refused. Arguments were adduced which made him less resolute in his refusal; objections which he started were obviated; and when he spake of the grief which it must give his mother if he were to accept the proposal, saying he was the staff of her age, her chief support and comfort, it was evident that he was shaken. He was asked, in reply, whether he would go if his mother's approbation could be obtained? this he thought impossible, but he consented that the trial should be made, and secretly determined, that, if she were willing, he would receive her assent as the call of God. Her answer was, "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more."

He did not, however, resolve finally upon this measure without consulting those persons whose opinions had most weight with him, among whom were William Law, and John Byron the poet. Their approbation confirmed him in his intention, though their dissent might not have shaken his

purpose. His brother Samuel also was content that he should go: perhaps he thought it well that he should engage in a service wherein so much zeal was required, that the excess, which now led him into extravagancies, might find full employment. It was, indeed, his growing attachment to ascetic principles and habits which made him desirous of removing from the temptations of the world. He looked forward to the conversion of the Indians as comparatively an easy task: there, he said, he should have the advantage of preaching to a people not yet beguiled by philosophy and vain deceit; and might enforce to them the plain truth of God, without its being softened and rendered useless by the comments of men. Little had he read of missionary labours, and less could he have reflected upon them when he reasoned thus! But to an unbeliever, who said to him, "What is this, Sir; are *you* one of the knights errant? How, I pray, got Quixotism into your head? You want nothing; you have a good provision for life, and are in a way of preferment: and must you leave all to fight windmills,—to convert savages in America!" He answered feelingly and calmly, "Sir, if the Bible be not true, I am as very a fool and madman as you can conceive; but if it be of God, I am sober-minded. For he has declared, 'There is no man that hath left house, or friends, or brethren, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in the present time, and in the world to come everlasting life.'"

It had been Charles Wesley's intention to spend

all his days at Oxford as a tutor, for he dreaded exceedingly to enter into orders: now, however, he determined to accompany his brother. This was strongly opposed by Samuel, but in vain: he was more docile towards John, whom he always regarded as his guide, and in deference to his judgment consented to be ordained; but he went out in the capacity of secretary to Mr. Oglethorpe. Their companions were Charles Delamotte, the son of a London merchant, and Benjamin Ingham, who was one of the little community at Oxford. "Our end," says Wesley, "in leaving our native country, was not to avoid want, (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings,) nor to gain the dung and dross of riches and honour; but singly this, to save our souls; to live wholly to the glory of God." They embarked at Gravesend on the 14th of October, 1735, and from that day the series of his printed journals commences. Oh that all men who have produced great effects in the world had left such memoirs of themselves!*

On board the same vessel there were six-and-twenty Moravians, going to join a party of their brethren from Herrnhut, who had gone out the preceding year under the sanction of the British government, and with the approbation of the English church; some of our bishops, indeed, having, of their own accord, offered to ordain their

* A short time before he left England he seems to have published a corrected version of Thomas à Kempis, and to have translated a Preface which had not appeared before in any English edition.

pastors. The conductor of this second detachment was David Nitschmann, one of a family distinguished for their sufferings and their zeal: he was afterwards the first bishop of the revived Church of the Brethren, the appellation by which the Moravians designate themselves. The rise and institutions of this remarkable people, with whom Wesley was for some time intimately connected, and from whom much of the œconomy of the Methodists has been derived, will be described hereafter. Wesley was exceedingly impressed with the piety, the simplicity, and the equanimity of these his shipmates: he applied himself to the German language, that he might converse with them the more freely, and Nitschmann and the others began to learn English.

While he resided at Oxford he had always hitherto been restrained, perhaps unconsciously, by some regard to appearances; that restraint was no longer felt, and he and his companions began to put their ascetic principles in full practice. Believing, he says, the denying ourselves, even in the smallest instances, might, by the blessing of God, be helpful to us, we wholly left off the use of flesh and wine, and confined ourselves to vegetable food, chiefly rice or biscuit. After a while they persuaded themselves that nature did not require such frequent supplies as they had been accustomed to,—so they agreed to leave off supper: and Wesley having slept on the floor one night, because his bed had been wetted in a storm, thought he

should not find it needful to sleep in a bed any more. His next experiment was, whether life might not as well be sustained by one sort of food as by variety: he and Delamotte accordingly tried with bread, as being the staff of life in Europe, and they found themselves never more vigorous and hearty. Upon this he exclaims, "Blessed are the pure in heart; to them all things are pure: every creature is good to them, and nothing to be rejected. But let them who are not thus pure use every help and remove every hindrance, always remembering, that he that despiseth little things shall fall by little and little." "At this time," his official biographers say, "he had only attained to the spirit of bondage unto fear, and he found that all his senses were ready to betray him into sin, upon every exercise of them." In a spirit akin to this, and derived from the same source, he wrote from on board to his brother Samuel, beseeching him, by the mercies of God, to banish all such poison from his school as the classics which were usually read there, and introduce Christian authors in their place; for it was his duty to instruct his scholars, "not only in the beggarly elements of Greek and Latin, but much more in the Gospel." Fanaticism always comes to this in its progress: first it depreciates learning, then it would destroy it. There have been Christians, as they believed themselves, who would have burnt the Alexandrian library upon the same logic as the Caliph Omar, with no other difference than that of calling their book by a Greek name instead of an Arabic one.

The course of life which they adopted on board was as regular as the circumstances of a voyage would allow, and as severe as the rule of a monastic order. From four in the morning till five they used private prayer: from five till seven they read the bible together, carefully comparing it with the writings of the earliest ages, that they might not lean to their own understandings. At seven they breakfasted, and they had public prayers at eight. From nine till twelve John Wesley was employed in learning German, Delamotte pursued his Greek studies, Charles wrote sermons, and Ingham instructed the children: and at twelve they met to give an account to one another of what they had done since their last meeting, and of what they intended to do before their next. They dined about one, and from dinner till four the time was spent in reading to those of whom each had taken especial charge, or in exhorting them severally, as the case might require. There were evening prayers at four, when the second lesson was explained, or the children were catechised and instructed before the congregation. From six to seven each read in his cabin to a few of the passengers. At seven Wesley joined with the Germans in their public service, and Ingham read between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight they met again to instruct and exhort. By this time they were pretty well wearied with exhortations and instruction; and between nine and ten they went to bed, where, as Wesley says, neither the waving of the sea, nor the motion of

the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave them.

It was a rough season, their passage was tempestuous; and, during the storm, Wesley felt that he was unfit, because he was unwilling to die. Ashamed of this unwillingness, he reproached himself as if he had no faith, and he admired the impassible tranquillity to which the Moravians had attained. They had evinced that they were delivered from pride, anger, and revenge; those servile offices, which none of the English would perform for the other passengers, they offered themselves to undertake, and would receive no recompense; saying, it was good for their proud hearts, and their Saviour had done more for them. No injury could move their meekness; if they were struck or thrown down, they made no complaint, nor suffered the slightest indication of resentment to appear. Wesley was curious to see whether they were equally delivered from the spirit of fear, and this he had an opportunity of ascertaining. In the midst of the psalm with which they began their service, the sea broke over, split the main-sail, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if, he says, the great deep had already swallowed us up. A dreadful screaming was heard among the English colonists: the Moravians calmly sung on. Wesley afterwards asked one of them, if he was not afraid at that time. He replied, "I thank God, no." He was then asked if the women and children were not afraid. His answer was, "No; our women and children are not afraid to die." In

the intervals of fine weather which they enjoyed, Wesley said he could conceive no difference comparable to that between a smooth and a rough sea, except that which is between a mind calmed by the love of God, and one torn up by the storms of earthly passions. On the 5th of February they anchored in the Savannah river.

The colony in Georgia, the last which the English established in North America, had been only three years founded at this time. The British government had encouraged it, with wise political views, as a defence for the southern provinces against the Spaniards, and for the purpose of occupying a critical position which otherwise, there was reason to believe, would have been occupied by the French, to the great danger and detriment of the British settlements: but it had been projected by men of enlarged benevolence, as a means of providing for the employment and well-being of those who were poor and distressed at home. Twenty-one persons were incorporated as trustees for twenty-one years, with power during that time to appoint all the officers, and regulate all the concerns of the colony; and they were authorized to collect subscriptions for fitting out the colonists and supporting them, till they could clear the lands. The trustees contributed money not less liberally than time and labour; the bank subscribed largely, and parliament voted 10,000l. for the advancement of a design which was every way conducive to the interest of the common weal. The first expedition consisted of an hundred and sixteen settlers. James

Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, embarked with them: an active, enterprising, and zealous man. He is said to have taken with him Sir Walter Raleigh's original journals, and to have been guided by them in the choice of a situation for his settlement; and this is confirmed by the tradition of the Indians: their forefathers, they said, had held a conference with a warrior who came over the great waters, and they pointed out a funeral barrow, under which the chief who had conferred with him was buried, by his own desire, in the spot where the conference had been held.

The site of the new settlement was on the banks of the river Savannah, which bends like a sickle in that part: the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top is what in the language of the colonies is called a bluff,—plain high ground, extending about half a mile along the river; and some five or six miles up the country. Ships drawing twelve feet water may ride within ten yards of the shore. In the centre of the plain the town was marked out, opposite an island of rich pasturage. From the key there was a fine prospect of the coast in one direction, and an island called Tybee, in the mouth of the river; on the other, the wide stream, bordered with high woods on both sides, glittered in the distance as far as the eye could reach. The country belonged to the Creek Indians: they were computed at this time to amount to about 25,000 souls, war and disease, and the vices of savage life, having greatly reduced their numbers. An Indian woman, who had married a

trader from Carolina, acted as interpreter between the English and her countrymen; her services were at first purchased with presents, and liberally rewarded afterwards by an annuity of an hundred pounds. Fifty chieftains and elders, from the eight tribes who composed the confederacy of the Creeks, were deputed to confer with Oglethorpe, and treat of an alliance. In the name of these confederated tribes, Weecachumpa, the Long Chief, informed the British adventurers what was the extent of country which they claimed as their inheritance: he acknowledged the superiority of the white men to the red: he said they were persuaded that the Great Power, who dwelt in heaven and all around, (and he threw his hands abroad, and prolonged his articulation as he spake,), had sent the English thither for their good, and therefore they were welcome to all the land which the Creeks did not use themselves.

Tomo-chichi, to whose tribe this part of the country belonged, then presented him with a buffalo skin, adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. The eagle, he said, signified speed, and the buffalo strength. The English were swift as the eagle, and strong as the buffalo. Like the eagle, they flew over the great waters to the uttermost parts of the earth; and like the buffalo, they were so strong that nothing could withstand them. The feathers of the eagle, he said, were soft, and signified love; the skin of the buffalo was warm, and signified protection: therefore he hoped the English would love and protect the little

family of the Creeks. The alliance was soon concluded, a stipulation being made, that wherever a town was laid out, a certain portion of land should be allotted to the natives. Oglethorpe then presented each of their Micoes, or Kings, with a shirt, a laced coat, and a laced hat: each of the warriors with a gun, and each of their attendants with a duffle cloak, and a few trifles.

Oglethorpe returned to England the following year, and took with him Tomo-chichi, Sonawki his wife, and Tooanahowi his son, with seven other Indians. They were presented to George II. at Kensington, where the Micoe offered a calumet to the King, and addressed him in a characteristic and not ineloquent oration. "This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come in my old days, though I cannot expect to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Lower and Upper Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flieth around our nations. These feathers in our land are a sign of peace, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great King, as a token of everlasting peace. O great King, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the Kings of the Creek nations." The orator addressed the Queen also in these words: "I am glad to see this day, and to have

the opportunity of seeing the mother of this great people. As our people are joined with your Majesty's, we humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectress of us and all our children." Tomo-chichi and his companions had no reason to be dissatisfied with their reception in England. They were objects not only of curiosity, but of kindness. A weekly allowance was assigned them of twenty pounds, during their stay of four months; they lived during most of the time at the tables of persons of distinction, liberal presents were made them, and when they embarked for their own country, they were carried in one of the king's carriages to Gravesend. A number of protestant Saltzburghers *, expelled by their own go-

* The expulsion of these Saltzburghers was the last wholesale act of intolerance committed by a Roman Catholic government. Of all acts of the kind, however, it was executed with the least inhumanity, and the most cause. The archbishop was a humane and conscientious man, and endeavoured by all means of gentleness and persuasion to maintain that conformity of belief in his dominions, which, both as prince and prelate, according to the laws and the faith which he professed, it was his duty to preserve. But the spirit of reformation which had arisen was not to be suppressed by the preaching of Franciscan friars; and in a country where the greater part of the inhabitants were passionately attached to the religion of their fathers, with all its forms and fables, and the rest were possessed with an uncompromising and enthusiastic determination of worshipping God in their own way, the only means of preventing a civil war, sooner or later, was to make the minority depart in peace, and this was not done till they had threatened to call upon a foreign power for support. About 25,000 persons (a tenth part of the population) migrated on this occasion. Their property was sold for them under the King of Prussia's protection; some injustice and considerable loss must needs have been suffered by such a sale, and the chancellor, by whom this strong measure was carried into effect, is accused of having enriched himself by the transaction. Seventeen thousand of the emigrants settled in the Prussian states. Their march will long be remembered in Germany. The Catholic magistrates at

vernment on account of religion, went over with them. A large party of Highlanders followed in the year ensuing, and the prospects of the colony were so promising, that parliament granted a supply of 26,000l. And when Mr. Oglethorpe returned bringing with him the Wesleys, he took out about three hundred passengers in two ships.

Such was the history of the settlement to which Wesley went out as Chaplain and Missionary; and such had been its progress when he arrived there. No colony was ever established upon principles

---

Augsburg shut the gates against them, but the Protestants in the city prevailed, and lodged them in their houses. The Count of Stolberg Warnegerode gave a dinner to about 900 in his palace: they were also liberally entertained and relieved by the Duke of Brunswick. At Leipsic the clergy met them at the gates, and entered with them in procession, singing one of Luther's hymns; the magistrates quartered them upon the inhabitants, and a collection was made for them in the church, several merchants subscribing 1000 dollars each. The University of Wittenberg went out to meet them, with the Rector at their head, and collections were made from house to house. "We thought it an honour," says one of the professors, "to receive our poor guests in that city where Luther first preached the doctrines for which they were obliged to abandon their native homes." These demonstrations of the popular feeling render it more than probable that, if a religious war had been allowed to begin in Saltzburg, it would have spread throughout Germany.

Thirty-three thousand pounds were raised in London for the relief of the Saltzburghers; many of them settled in Georgia,—colonists of the best description. They called their settlement Ebenezer. Whitefield, in 1738, was wonderfully pleased with their order and industry. "Their lands," he says, "are improved surprisingly for the time they have been there, and I believe they have far the best crop of any in the colony. They are blest with two such pious ministers as I have not often seen. They have no courts of judicature, but all little differences are immediately and implicitly decided by their ministers, whom they look upon and love as their fathers. They have likewise an orphan-house, in which are seventeen children and one widow, and I was much delighted to see the regularity wherewith it is managed."

more honourable to its projectors. The device upon their seal was the genius of the colony seated between the two rivers which were its boundaries, with the cap of liberty on his head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other: on the reverse were some silk-worms at their work, with the words *Non sibi sed aliis* for the motto. The conduct of the trustees did not discredit their professions; they looked for no emolument to themselves or their representatives after them; and the first principle which they laid down in their laws was, that no slave should be employed. This was regarded at the time as their great and fundamental error: it was afterwards repealed; and it is worthy of remark, that this colony, being the only one in America which prohibited slavery at its foundation, was the last which gave its reluctant assent to the abolition of the slave-trade. But there were solid political reasons for the prohibition, even if the everlasting principles of humanity and justice had not been regarded; for the Spaniards, who have been little scrupulous as to the means of carrying on war in the new world, had formed a regiment of refugee negroes from Carolina, who were paid and clothed like the Spanish troops, and officered from among themselves; they had proclaimed freedom for all who would join them, and had emissaries actively employed in encouraging them to escape from slavery. Some other regulations, although equally well designed, were not equally wise. None of the colonists were to be permitted to trade with the Indians, except such as

should obtain a special license for that purpose:—this was placing the settlers in a worse condition than any other colonists, the law therefore was sure to render them discontented, and to be disobeyed. The lands were granted upon a feudal principle, the possessors being bound to take the field whenever the public service might require; but as if the evils of a feudal aristocracy could possibly arise in a commercial colony, estates were to be granted only in tail male, lest large tracks, by descents and intermarriages, should fall into one hand;—thus, from the apprehension of remote and imaginary danger, the odious injustice of a Salic law in private possessions was introduced. And the importation of rum was prohibited: it is said that this spirit, when properly diluted, is proved by experience to be the wholesomest and most refreshing drink, as well as the cheapest, for workmen in that foggy and burning climate; and it is certain that to forbid the use of a thing good in itself, because it is liable to be abused, is subjecting the worthy part of the community to a privation for the sake of the worthless.

The ship in which Wesley was embarked cast anchor near Tybee island, "where the groves of pines, running along the shore, made," he says, "an agreeable prospect, showing, as it were, the bloom of spring in the depth of winter." On the following morning they landed on a small uninhabited island, where Mr. Oglethorpe led them to a rising ground, and they all knelt and returned thanks to God for having arrived in safety. Mr. Oglethorpe went that

day to Savannah, and returned the next, bringing with him Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, one of the pastors of the Moravians. Wesley perceiving in him the same character which in his fellow-passengers had impressed him so strongly, asked his advice concerning his own conduct in a situation which was new to him; the German replied, "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" Wesley had hitherto been accustomed to be himself the teacher: it was the first time that he had been treated as a novice or a child in spiritual things: he was surprised, and knew not what to answer: the German perceived this, and said, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" After a pause he replied, "I know he is the Saviour of the world." "True," rejoined Spangenberg, "but do you know he has saved *you?*" Wesley answered, "I hope he has died to save me." The Moravian only added, "Do you know yourself?" and Wesley, who was evidently awed by this catechism, confesses, that in answering "I do," he feared he was but uttering vain words. The account which Spangenberg gave of himself strengthened the impression which this conversation had made. He had spent some years at the university of Jena, he said, in learning languages and the vain philosophy, which he had now long been labouring to forget. It had pleased God to overturn his heart by means of some who preached the word with power, and he then immediately

threw aside all learning, except what tended to salvation. He then began teaching poor children, and having been invited to Halle, was banished from thence, because many faults were found both with his behaviour and his preaching: he had removed accordingly to Herrnhut, and had been sent from thence to Georgia, to regulate the Moravian establishment. Wesley enquired whither he was to go next; his answer was, "I have thoughts of going to Pennsylvania: but what God will do with me I know not. I am blind. I am a child. My Father knows, and I am ready to go wherever he calls."

The brothers now separated. Charles went with Ingham to Frederica, a settlement on the west side of the Island of St. Simon's, in the mouth of the Alatamaha*. John and Delamotte took up their lodging with the Germans at Savannah, till the house which was intended for them should be erected. "We had now," says Wesley, "an opportunity, day by day, of observing their whole behaviour; for we were in one room with them from morning to night, unless for the little time spent in walking. They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good humour with one another. They had put away all anger, and strife, and wrath, and bitterness, and clamour, and evil speaking. They walked worthy of the vo-

* The Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt says, that the three branches of the river Alatamaha, with the island of St. Simon's, which lies facing them, form the best, deepest, and safest harbour on the American coast, below the Chesapeak.

cation wherewith they were called, and adorned the gospel of our Lord in all things." And having been present at a consultation concerning the affairs of their church, in which, after several hours spent in conference and prayer, they proceeded to the election and ordination of a bishop, he says, that "the great simplicity, as well as solemnity of the whole, almost made him forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine himself in one of those assemblies where form and state were not, but Paul the tent-maker, or Peter the fisherman presided,—yet with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power." Among the things of which he was chiefly afraid upon leaving England, one had been, that he should never again have so many faithful friends as he left there. He now exclaimed, "But who knoweth the mercy and power of God! From ten friends I am awhile secluded, and he hath opened me a door into the whole Moravian church."

When Dr. Burton proposed Wesley as a proper person for the mission to Georgia, he was influenced by an opinion, that the more men were inured to a contempt of the conveniences and comforts of life, to serious thoughts and bodily austerities, the fitter they were for such an undertaking. He told him that the apostolical manner of preaching from house to house might be effectual, and turn many to righteousness. He reminded him (as if seeing upon what rock he was most likely to be wrecked) of how great importance it was to distinguish with prudence "between what is essential

and what is merely circumstantial to Christianity; between what is indispensable and what is variable; between what is of divine and what is of human authority;" and he warned him, that the people among whom he was going were "babes in the progress of their Christian life, to be fed with milk instead of strong meat." In one point Dr. Burton judged rightly; no man was more desirous of courting discomfort, or more able to endure privations and fatigue; in all other points never was man more thoroughly unfit for the service which he had undertaken. It seems at first to have been supposed that he would be engaged more as a missionary than as a chaplain, and he thought himself called to the conversion of the heathen. But when Tomochichi came to welcome the governor on his arrival, and was introduced to the intended teacher, it appeared that unforeseen obstacles had arisen. "I am glad you are come," said the chief, speaking through the female interpreter to Wesley; "when I was in England, I desired that some would speak the Great Word to me: and my nation then desired to hear it. But now we are are all in confusion. Yet I am glad you are come. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation, and I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians as the Spaniards make Christians: we would be taught before we are baptized." Wesley made answer, "There is but One, He that sitteth in Heaven, who is able to teach man wisdom. Though we are come so far; we know not whether He will please to teach you by us, or no. If He teaches you,

you will learn wisdom; but we can do nothing." Had he been master of their language, like those excellent men Eliot and Roger Williams, the manner of his speech indicates that he would have addressed them successfully in their own style: but he never seems to have attempted the arduous task of acquiring it; and when an opportunity offered of going among the Choctaws, and Mr. Oglethorpe objected to it, because there was danger of being intercepted or killed by the French; and still more because of the inexpediency of leaving Savannah without a minister, the two brethren discussed these objections with the Moravians, and acceded to their opinion, that they ought not yet to go. In Georgia, indeed, as the Jesuits had found it in South America, the vicinity of a white settlement would have proved the most formidable obstacle to the conversion of the Indians. When Tomo-chichi was urged to listen to the doctrines of Christianity, he keenly replied, "Why, these are Christians at Savannah! these are Christians at Frederica!" Nor was it without good apparent reason that the poor savage exclaimed, "Christian much drunk! Christian beat men! Christian tell lies! Devil Christian! Me no Christian!"

Wesley, however, was well pleased at first with his situation: the place, he said, was pleasant beyond imagination: he was even persuaded that it was exceeding healthful, and he wrote to his mother, saying, he should be heartily glad if any poor and religious men or women of Epworth or Wroote

could come over to him; inviting them with a promise of land enough, and of provisions till they could live upon its produce. He was satisfied also with his reception, and the effect which he produced. The people crowded to hear him; and when he beheld the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterwards sate upon all their faces, he could scarce refrain from anticipating a continuance of the impression, "in spite," he says, "of experience, and reason, and Scripture altogether." One of the ladies to whom he was introduced on his first landing, assured him that he would see as well-drest a congregation on Sunday, as most which he had seen in London. "I did so," he says, "and soon after took occasion to expound those Scriptures which relate to dress, and to press them freely upon my audience, in a plain and close application. All the time that I afterwards ministered at Savannah, I saw neither gold in the church, nor costly apparel; but the congregation in general was almost constantly clothed in plain clean linen or woollen. All," he said, "was smooth, and fair, and promising: many seemed to be awakened: all all were full of respect and commendation." He taught one school, and Delamotte another: some of Delamotte's boys, who wore shoes and stockings, thought themselves superior to the poor fellows who went bare-foot; and Wesley proposed to change schools for a while, that he might endeavour to cure an evil which his friend found himself unable to remedy. To effect this he went into the school

without shoes and stockings himself. The boys stared at him and at each other: he, of course, took no notice, but kept them to their work: it was soon evident that the unshod party felt the comfort of being thus countenanced, and before the week was over, pride stood no longer in the way of discipline or of economy, and many of the others came to school bare-legged also.

This was not the only instance in which he gained a signal victory over the vanities of the world: one of the better order of colonists gave a ball; the public prayers began about the same time; the church was full, and the ball-room so empty, that the entertainment could not go forward. He perceived that this made many persons angry, and he did not perceive that it would have been prudent as well as easy not to have excited such feelings on such an occasion. All might have continued well, could he but have remembered the advice of Dr. Burton, to consider his parishioners as babes in their progress, and therefore to feed them with milk. Instead of this, he drenched them with the physic of an intolerant discipline. Following the rubric in opposition to the practice of the English church, he insisted upon baptizing children by immersion, and refused to baptize them if the parents would not consent to this rude and perilous method. Some persons he would not receive as sponsors, because they were not communicants; and when one of the most pious men in the colony earnestly desired to be admitted to the communion, because he was a dissenter he

refused to administer it to him, unless he would submit to be re-baptized; and he would not read the burial-service over another for the same reason, or for some one founded upon the same principle. He was accused of making his sermons so many satires upon particular persons, and for this cause his auditors fell off; for though one might have been very well pleased to hear the others preached at, no person liked the chance of being made the mark himself. All the quarrels which had occurred since his arrival were occasioned, it was affirmed, by his intermeddling conduct. "Besides," said a plain speaker to him, "the people say they are Protestants, but as for you they cannot tell what religion you are of; they never heard of such a religion before, and they do not know what to make of it."

It was not merely by his austere opinions and ascetic habits that Wesley gave occasion to this notion. With all his rigid adherence to the letter of the rubric, his disposition for departing from the practices of the church, and establishing a discipline of his own, was now beginning to declare itself. He divided the public prayers, following, in this respect, the original appointment of the church, which, he said, was still observed in a few places in England; so he performed the morning service at five, and reserved the communion office, with the sermon, for a separate service at eleven: the evening service was at three. He visited his parishioners from house to house in order, setting apart for this purpose the hours between

twelve and three, when they could not work because of the heat. And he agreed with his companions to form, if they could, the more serious parishioners into a little society, who should assemble once or twice a week for the purpose of improving, instructing, and exhorting each other: from these again a smaller number was to be selected for a more intimate intercommunion, which might be forwarded partly by the minister's conversing singly with each, and partly by inviting them altogether to the minister's house on Sunday afternoons. Mr. Oglethorpe so far accorded with his views of reformation, as to give orders that no person should profane the Sabbath by fishing or fowling upon that day; but the governor, who had cares enough to disquiet him, arising from the precarious state of the colony, was teazed and soured by the complaints which were now perpetually brought against the two brothers, and soon began to wish that he had brought out with him men of more practicable tempers.

The best people are not to be looked for in new colonies;—formed as such establishments hitherto have been in modern times, they usually consist of adventurers, who have either no fortune to lose, or no character,—the most daring, or the most desperate members of society. Charles Wesley attempted the doubly difficult task of reforming some of the lady colonists, and reconciling their petty jealousies and hatreds of each other; in which he succeeded no farther than just to make them cordially agree in hating him, and caballing to get

rid of him in any way. He had not been six days at Frederica before he was involved in so many disputes and disagreeable circumstances, that he declared he would not spend six days more in the same manner for all Georgia,—but it was neither in his power to change his situation so soon, nor to improve it. As he was at prayers in a myrtle grove, a gun was fired from the other side of the bushes, and the ball passed close by him: he believed it was aimed at him, yet if there had really been a design against his life, they who made the attempt would not so easily have given up their purpose. Oglethorpe was at this time gone inland with the Indians, to see the limits which they claimed. During his absence the doctor chose to shoot during service-time on the Sunday, in the midst of the sermon, and so near the church, that the constable thought it his duty to go out and deliver him to the commanding officer, who put him under arrest in the guard-room. This was of course imputed to the chaplain; the doctor's wife poured out a torrent of execrations against him in the street; and to heighten the indignation which was excited, the doctor himself refused to go out to any patient, though his services were wanted by a woman at the time. When Oglethorpe returned he found Frederica in an uproar, and he was informed that a plan was concerted among the settlers for abandoning the colony, and that Charles Wesley was the prime mover of the mischief. The accusation came in too authentic a manner to be disregarded, for it was made by the spokesman of the

discontented, who in their name demanded leave to depart. Oglethorpe accordingly sent for him, and charged him with mutiny and sedition, yet treated him with some remains of kindness, and said, that he should not scruple shooting half-a-dozen of those fellows at once, but that from regard to him he had spoken to him first. A cross-examination, skilfully managed, made the accuser himself admit that Charles Wesley had no otherwise excited the mutineers to this resolution than by forcing them to prayers. Still an uncomfortable feeling remained in Oglethorpe's breast, which no explanation could remove:—he had expected that men of such talents, such learning, such piety, and such zeal as the Wesleys, would have contributed essentially to the good order of the colony: and he complained that instead of love, meekness, and true religion among the people, there was nothing but mere formal prayers: but of the form he was soon convinced, there was as little as of the reality, seldom more than half-a-dozen attending at the public service. Still he thought Charles had raised these disorders,—as in truth he had been the occasion of them by his injudicious zeal: Charles asked whether it was his wish that he should altogether forbear from conversing with the parishioners. To this the governor would give no answer; but he spoke of the difficulties of his own situation: "Every thing was in confusion," he said: "it was much easier to govern a thousand persons than threescore; and he durst not leave them before they were settled."

This interview left neither party in an enviable state of mind. Charles wrote to his brother, the letter was intercepted, and the scoundrel who opened it proclaimed its contents: instead of writing again, he resolved to send Ingham to him. There was one person of better character among these profligate settlers, who burst into tears when he took leave of Ingham, and said, "One good man is leaving us already; I foresee nothing but desolation. Must my poor children be brought up like these savages?" And Charles himself, feeling the utter loneliness in which he was left, though but by a temporary separation, exclaims in his journal, "O happy, happy friend! *abiit, erupit, evasit;* but woe is me that I am still constrained to dwell in Meshech! I languished," he says, "to bear him company, followed him with my eye till out of sight, and then sunk into deeper dejection of spirit than I had known before." Mr. Oglethorpe now began to manifest his displeasure in a manner not more distressing to its object than dishonourable to himself. Charles Wesley, expecting to live with him as his secretary, had taken out with him from England no furniture of any kind: he was now informed that Mr. Oglethorpe had given orders that no one should use his things; and upon observing that he supposed the order did not extend to him, was told by the servant that he was particularly included by name. "Thanks be to God," said he, "it is not yet made capital to give me a morsel of bread. I begin now," he says in his journal, "to be abused and slighted into an

25394

opinion of my own considerableness. I could not be more trampled upon were I a fallen minister of state. The people have found out that I am in disgrace; my few well-wishers are afraid to speak to me: some have turned out of the way to avoid me; others have desired that I would not take it ill if they seemed not to know me when we should meet. The servant that used to wash my linen sent it back unwashed. It was great cause of triumph that I was forbidden the use of Mr. Oglethorpe's things, which in effect debarred me of most of the conveniences, if not the necessaries of life. I sometimes pitied them, and sometimes diverted myself with the odd expressions of their contempt; but I found the benefit of having undergone a much lower degree of obloquy at Oxford."

Hitherto he had lain on the ground in the corner of a hut: some boards were now to be distributed from the public stores, and he applied for some to use as a bedstead, but they were given to every person except himself. Outward hardships and inward conflicts, above all, the bitterness of reproach from Mr. Oglethorpe, who was the only man he wished to please, wore him out at last, and he was forced to lie down by what he called a friendly fever. "My sickness," he says, "I knew could not be of long continuance, as I was in want of every help and convenience: it must either soon leave me, or release me from further sufferings." Some charitable persons brought him gruel, which produced a salutary perspiration, and being a little relieved, the next day he was able to bury a poor

man, who had been killed by the bursting of a cannon, but in a state of such weakness, that he was led out to perform the funeral service, and envied the man his quiet grave. On the first day of his illness he got the old bedstead to lie upon, on which the wounded man had expired; he possessed it only one night; Oglethorpe was brutal enough to give it away from under him, and refused to spare one of the carpenters to mend him up another.

John, meantime, being relieved by Ingham, at Savannah, embarked in a sort of flat-bottomed barge called a pettiagaw for Frederica. At night he wrapt himself from head to foot in a large cloak to keep off the sand flies, (for they were anchored near an island,) and lay down on the quarter-deck. About midnight he was greatly astonished by finding himself under water, he had rolled overboard, and in so sound a sleep that he did not wake while falling; his presence of mind which never forsook him, served him here in good stead, and swimming round to the other side of the vessel where there was a boat tied, he climbed up by the rope. Contrary winds delayed him six days on the passage. Charles began to recover from the moment of his brother's arrival. In his natural indignation at the treatment which he received, he had resolved rather to perish for want of necessaries, than submit to ask for them; by John's advice, however, he departed from this resolution, and the way to reconciliation was thus opened. Wesley remained about a week at Frederica. A few days after his departure, Mr. Ogle-

thorpe sent for Charles, and a remarkable scene ensued. The governor began by saying he had taken some pains to satisfy his brother, but in vain. "It matters not," said he. "I am now going to death: you will see me no more. Take this ring, and carry it to Mr. V.: if there be a friend to be depended on, he is one. His interest is next to Sir Robert's: whatever you ask within his power, he will do for you, your brother and family. I have expected death for some days. These letters show that the Spaniards have long been seducing our allies, and intend to cut us off at a blow. I fall by my friends on whom I depended to send their promised succours. But death is nothing to me: he will pursue all my designs, and to him I recommend them and you." He then gave him a diamond ring. Charles Wesley, who had little expected such an address, took it, and replied, "If I am speaking to you for the last time, hear what you will quickly know to be a truth, as soon as you are entered on a separate state. This ring I shall never make use of for myself. I have no worldly hopes: I have renounced the world: life is bitterness to me: I came hither to lay it down. You have been deceived as well as I. I protest my innocence of the crimes I am charged with, and think myself now at liberty to tell you what I thought never to have uttered." The explanation into which he then entered, so satisfied Oglethorpe, that his feelings were entirely changed: all his old love and confidence returned; and he embraced Charles and kissed him with the most

cordial affection. They went together to the boat, where he waited some minutes for his sword: a mourning sword was twice brought him, which he twice refused to take; at last they brought his own: it had been his father's. "With this sword," said he, "I was never yet unsuccessful." When the boat pushed off, Charles Wesley ran along the shore to see his last of him. Oglethorpe seeing him and two other persons run after him, stopt the boat, and asked if they wanted any thing. One of them, the officer, whom he had left with the command, desired his last orders: Charles then said, "God is with you: go forth *Christo duce et auspice Christo.*" Oglethorpe replied, "You have some verses of mine: you there see my thoughts of success." The boat then moved off, and Charles remained praying that God would save him from death, and wash away all his sins.

On the fifth day, Oglethorpe returned in safety. An enemy's squadron of three large ships, and four smaller, had been for three weeks endeavouring to make a descent, but the wind continued against them till they could wait no longer. Charles returned him the ring. "When I gave it you," said the governor, "I never expected to see you again, but I thought it would be of service to your brother and you. I had many omens of my death, but God has been pleased to preserve a life which was never valuable to me, and yet in the continuance of it, I thank God, I can rejoice." He then talked of the strangeness of his deliverance, when betrayed, as it appeared, on all sides,

and without human suppport; and he condemned himself for his late conduct, imputing it, however, to want of time for consideration, and the state of his mind. "I longed, Sir," said Charles, "to see you once more, that I might tell you some things before we finally parted: but then I considered that if you died, you would know them all in a moment." Oglethorpe replied, "I know not whether separate spirits regard our little concerns; if they do, it is as men regard the follies of their childhood, or I my late passionateness." About three months afterwards, Mr. Oglethorpe sent him to England with dispatches, and followed him thither in the autumn of the same year.

At the beginning of the ensuing year, it was determined that Ingham should go to England also, and endeavour to bring over some of their friends to assist them. When Wesley had been twelve months in Georgia, he sent to the trustees an account of the expenses for that time, for himself and Delamotte, which, deducting building and journeys, amounted only to 44l. 4s. 4d. A salary of 50l. was allowed for his maintenance, which he had resolved not to accept, thinking his fellowship sufficient for him; but his brother Samuel expostulated with him upon the injustice of such conduct, both to himself and to those who should come after him. These arguments were too reasonable to be resisted, especially when Wesley was looking to an event which would have deprived him of his income from college.

Sophia Causton, the niece of the chief magistrate at Savannah, had fixed her eyes upon Wesley; and it is said that Mr. Oglethorpe wished to bring about a marriage between them, thinking it the likeliest means of reclaiming him from those eccentricities which stood in the way of his usefulness. She was a woman of fine person, polished manners, and cultivated mind, and was easily led to bear her part in a design which was to cure an excellent man of his extravagances, and give her a good husband. Accordingly she was introduced to him as one suffering under a wounded spirit, and enquiring after the way of eternal life. Nor was it enough to place herself thus in a more particular manner under his spiritual guidance: she became his pupil also, like another Heloisa. She dressed always in white, and with the utmost simplicity to please his taste; and when in consequence of his having taken meat and wine one day at the General's express desire, as a proof that he did not think the use of these things unlawful, he was seized with fever, and confined to his bed, she attended him night and day with incessant and sincere solicitude. Wesley's manner of life had hitherto estranged him from women, and he felt these attentions as it was designed that he should feel them. But she had a difficult part to act, and might well doubt whether with all his virtues it was likely that such a husband would make her happy. While she was at Frederica, he wrote to his brother Charles concerning her in language which strongly marks his anxiety: the letter was partly written in Greek,

that it might not be exposed to impertinent curiosity. It was to this purport:—"I conjure you spare no time, no address or pains to learn the true cause of my friend's former grief. I much doubt you are in the right. God forbid that she should again err thus. Watch over, guard her as much as you possibly can. Write to me, how it behoves me to write to her." Here not being under Wesley's eye, her life was not regulated with the same reference to his opinion; and when he went to Frederica some weeks after his brother's departure, "he found her," he says, "scarce the shadow of what she was, when he had left her." He endeavoured to convince her of this: the kind of remonstrance excited some pain and some pride; and in her resentment she told him she would return to England immediately. "I was at first a little surprised," says he, "but I soon recollected my spirits, and remembered my calling*.

—— non me, qui cætera vincet
Impetus; at rapido contrarius evehar orbi."

He had recourse to prayer, however, and to the exhortations of Ephrem Syrus, whom he thought at this time the most awakening writer of all the ancients; and after several fruitless attempts, he

* It was perhaps on this occasion that he composed these lines, which, as he tells us in his "Plain Account of Christian Perfection," were written at Savannah in the year 1736:

Is there a thing beneath the sun
That strives with thee my heart to share?
Ah tear it thence, and reign alone,
The Lord of every motion there!

at length succeeded in dissuading her from what he called the fatal resolution of going to England. She went back with him to Savannah, and in a short time he believed she had recovered the ground which she had lost. This was the close of October. "In the beginning of December," he writes, "I advised Miss Sophy to sup earlier, and not immediately before she went to bed. She did so, and on this little circumstance, what an inconceivable train of consequences depend! not only all the colour of remaining life for her, but perhaps my happiness too."

Notwithstanding this docility, Delamotte suspected that both her obedience and her devotion were merely assumed for the occasion; he therefore told Wesley what he thought of her artfulness and his simplicity, and plainly asked him if it was his intention to marry her. That he had formed this intention in his heart is beyond a doubt, but he had not declared it; the question embarrassed him, and he made no decisive answer; but being staggered by what Delamotte had said, he called upon the Moravian Bishop. The Bishop replied thus:—"Marriage is not unlawful. Whether it is expedient for you at this time, and whether this lady is a proper wife for you, ought to be maturely considered." The more he considered the more he was perplexed, so he propounded the matter to the elders of the Moravian Church. When he went to learn their determination, he found Delamotte sitting with the elders in full conclave assembled; and upon his proposing the

question, the Bishop replied: "We have considered your case; will you abide by our decision?" He made answer that he would. Then said the Bishop, we advise you to proceed no further in this business. Upon this Wesley replied, "The will of the Lord be done," and from that time in perfect obedience to their decision, it is affirmed that he carefully avoided the lady's company, though he perceived what pain this change in his conduct gave her. Had the lady herself known that a consultation of Moravian elders had been held upon her case, whatever pain and whatever love she might have felt, would soon have given place to resentment.

Docile, however, as he had shown himself to his spiritual directors, his private diary shows what pain he felt in their decision, and that even when he thought it best for his salvation that the match should be broken off, he had not resolution to break it off himself, so that the point on his part was still undecided, when she put an end to his struggles by taking another husband. Passages in his private journal make this beyond a doubt: "Feb. 5. 1737. One of the most remarkable dispensations of Providence towards me which I have yet known began to show itself this day. For many days after I could not at all judge which way the scale would turn: nor was it fully determined till March 4. on which God commanded me to pull out my right eye; and by his grace I determined so to do; but being slack in the execution, on Saturday, March 12., God being very merciful to

me, my friend performed what I could not. I have often thought one of the most difficult commands that ever was given, was that given to Ezekiel concerning his wife. But the difficulty of obeying such a direction appeared to me now more than ever before, when considering the character I bore, I could not but perceive that the word of the Lord was come to me likewise, saying, 'Son of man, behold I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke, yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down.'" The fourth of March appears to have been the day on which the consultation was held: "From the direction I received from God this day," he says, "touching an affair of the last importance, I cannot but observe, as I have done many times before, the entire mistake of many good men, who assert that God will not answer your prayer unless your heart be wholly resigned to his will. My heart was not wholly resigned to his will; therefore, I durst not depend on my own judgment; and for this very reason I cried to him the more earnestly to supply what was wanting in me. And I know, and am assured, that he heard my voice, and did send forth his light and his truth." The twelfth of March was the day on which Sophia married Mr. Williamson, "being," says Wesley, "the day which completed the year from my first speaking to her. What thou doest, O God, I know not now, but I shall know hereafter*."

* Upon this part of Wesley's private history, Dr. Whitehead says, "Mr. Wesley has observed a silence in his printed journal on some

His first consolation was derived from reflecting upon the part which he believed himself called to

---

circumstances of this affair, which has induced many persons to suspect the propriety of his conduct in this business. He has, however, been more open in his private journal, which was written at the time as the circumstances arose. And as this private journal, and his other papers, lay open to the inspection of his friends for several years, I cannot help thinking that it would have been more to the reputation of themselves and Mr. Wesley to have openly avowed the fact that he did intend to marry Miss Causton, and was not a little pained when *she* broke off the connection with him. From a careful perusal of his private journal this appears to me to have been the case. But, whatever may be said of his weakness, (and who is not weak in something or other?) or of his prudence in this affair, nothing can be laid to his charge in point of criminality." Wesley would naturally say as little as possible upon this subject in his printed journal; and in private, whether he remembered the lady with any degree of tenderness or not, he must have been conscious of much eccentricity during the course of the attachment, and great indiscretion after it was broken off. But it is remarkable that his private journal should only hint at the consultation of Moravians, and so remotely, that unless the fact had elsewhere been mentioned, it could never have been inferred. Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore say, "There is a silence observed in Mr. Wesley's journal in respect to some parts of this event, which it is possible has caused even friendly readers to hesitate concerning the propriety of his conduct, or at least concerning *that propriety* which they might be led to expect from so great a character. But what has hitherto been defective, we are happy in being able to supply. The actors in this scene, are now, we may hope, in a better world; the last of them died but a few years since. We are not, therefore, bound, as Mr. Wesley thought himself when he published the account, to let a veil be thrown over this transaction: rather we are bound to *let his innocency appear as the light, and his just dealing as the noon-day.*" They add some circumstances which, to say the least, are not very probable. A young lady who had married after her arrival in Georgia, was troubled in conscience, and told Wesley, under a promise of secresy, the plot which General Oglethorpe had laid to cure him of his enthusiasm, adding these words: "Sir, I had no rest till I resolved to tell you the whole affair. I had myself been urged to that behaviour towards you, which I am now ashamed to mention. Both Miss Sophia and myself were ordered, if we could but succeed, even to *deny you nothing.*" These biographers say further, "when General Oglethorpe perceived by Wesley's altered manner, and some incautious expressions that his scheme had been discovered, he gave him a hint that there were

perform. Walking to one of the newly settled lots, he says, "I plainly felt that had God given me such a retirement with the companion I desired, I should have forgotten the work for which I was born, and have set up my rest in this world." It was not long, however, before he began to find cause for consolation from the lady's character, which took its natural course, when she no longer acted with the view of pleasing him. "God," he says, "has shewn me yet more of the greatness of my deliverance, by opening to me a new and unexpected scene of Miss Sophy's dissimulation.

Indians who would shoot any man in the colony for a bottle of rum, and actually sent an Indian to intimidate if not to murder him.

Surely it cannot be supposed that Wesley would have persisted in his wish, if not in his purpose, of marrying Sophia Causton, after he was fully assured that she had designed to entrap him by such means. Yet it is certain that he persevered in that mind three months after Mr. Oglethorpe's departure, and that the connection was not broken off by him at last. Dr. Whitehead, who has printed from the private journal Wesley's own remarks, written as the events occurred, censures with great justice the official biographers, saying, "I cannot help thinking it would have been more to the reputation of themselves and Mr. Wesley, to have openly avowed the fact that he did intend to marry Miss Causton, and was not a little pained when she broke off the connection with him." With regard to the young lady's curious confession, Mr. Wesley seems not to have asked himself the question whether it were more likely that General Oglethorpe would give such instructions to two young women under his protection, or that one of those women should have invented the story for purposes of mischief, at a time when it was wished to drive the obnoxious minister out of the colony. Mr. Moore believes that Mr. Wesley never related these circumstances to any person but himself; Dr. Coke was wholly ignorant of them; and he supposes that Mr. Wesley forbore to publish the whole account, chiefly through tenderness to General Oglethorpe. There was indeed sufficient reason for not bringing forward a charge at once so vague and so atrocious as that respecting the Indian; for though Messrs. Coke and Moore *incline to think* the man was sent only to intimidate, the story is not related so as to leave that impression upon the reader.

O never give me over to my own heart's desires, nor let me follow my own imaginations!" Some time afterwards, immediately after the communion, he mentioned to her some things in her conduct which he thought reprehensible; no man but Wesley would have done so, after what had passed between them, but at this time his austere notions led him wrong in every thing. The reproof irritated her, as it was likely to do, and she replied angrily, that she did not expect such usage from him, and turned abruptly away. At this time he was still upon friendly terms with her uncle Mr. Causton, the chief magistrate in the colony, and one who had hitherto been among his best friends; he had attended him lately during a slow illness, with a kindness of which that gentleman appeared fully sensible, and Mrs. Causton upon hearing what had now passed with her niece, endeavoured to excuse her to Wesley, expressed her sorrow for the affair, and desired him to tell her in writing what it was which he disapproved. The matter might easily have been ended here, if Wesley had so chosen; but his notions of clerical duty during this part of his life would have qualified him in other ages to have played the part of Becket or of Hildebrand. What he wrote to the lady has never been made public; the temper in which it was written may be estimated by the letter which he previously sent to her uncle. "To this hour you have shewn yourself my friend; I ever have and ever shall acknowledge it; and it is my earnest desire that he who hath hitherto given me this

blessing would continue it still. But this cannot be unless you will allow me one request, which is not so easy a one as it appears,—*don't condemn me for doing in the execution of my office what I think it my duty to do.* If you can prevail upon yourself to allow me this, even when I act without respect of persons, I am persuaded there will never be, at least not long, any misunderstanding between us. For even those who seek it, shall, I trust, find no occasion against me, *except it be concerning the law of my* GOD." This curious note brought Mr. Causton to his house to ask how he could possibly think he should condemn him for executing any part of his office. Wesley replied, "Sir, what if I should think it the duty of my office to repel one of your family from the Holy Communion?" "If you repel me or my wife," answered Causton, "I shall require a legal reason, but I shall trouble myself about none else; let them look to themselves."

These circumstances must needs have thrown the lady into considerable agitation; she miscarried: but though her aunt was now so incensed against Mr. Wesley as to impute this to his reproof and the letter which he had afterwards written, she herself was generous or just enough to declare that it was occasioned by anxiety during her husband's illness. Causton forbore from taking any part in the affair, and continued his usual friendly conduct towards the unfractable chaplain: he, however, on the first Sunday in the ensuing month persisted in his purpose, and repelled her from the communion. The next day a warrant was issued against him for

defaming Sophia Williamson, and refusing to administer to her the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in a public congregation without cause; for which injury the husband laid his damages at one thousand pounds. Upon this warrant he was carried before the Recorder and one of the Bailiffs: there he maintained that the giving or refusing the Lord's Supper was a matter purely ecclesiastical; and, therefore, he would not acknowledge their power to interrogate him concerning it. The Bailiff, nevertheless, said he must appear at the next Court holden for Savannah; and Williamson desired that he might be required to give bail for his appearance; but the Bailiff replied, that Mr. Wesley's word was sufficient. Mr. Causton, still professing a regard to the friendship which had hitherto subsisted between them, required him to give the reasons for his conduct in the Court-house, which Wesley refused, saying, he apprehended many ill consequences might arise from so doing, "Let the cause," he said, "be laid before the trustees." The uncle now broke off all terms, and entered with great animosity into the business as a family quarrel, declaring he had drawn the sword, and would never sheath it till he had obtained satisfaction: and he called upon Wesley to give the reasons of his repelling her before the whole congregation. This he did accordingly, in writing, to the lady herself, and in these words: "The rules whereby I proceed are these: so many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Curate, at least some

time the day before. This you did not do. And if any of these have done any wrong to his neighbour by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended, the Curate shall advertise him that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table, until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented. If you offer yourself at the Lord's Table on Sunday, I will advertise you (as I have done more than once,) wherein you have done wrong. And when you have openly declared yourself to have truly repented, I will administer to you the mysteries of God."

This affair was now the whole business of Savannah. Causton was so far forgetful of what is due from man to man in civilized life, as to read Wesley's letters to the lady during the whole course of their intimacy, before all who chose to hear them, omitting such passages as did not exactly suit his purpose, and helping out others by a running comment. Wesley on his part, at the request of several of the communicants, drew up a statement of the case, and read it after the evening prayers in the open congregation; a conduct not less extraordinary, though less reprehensible than that of his adversary. An affidavit was made by the lady, asserting that Mr. Wesley had many times proposed marriage to her, all which proposals she had rejected, and insinuating much more than it asserted. He desired a copy of it, and was told by Causton that he might have one from any of the newspapers in America; for they were bent upon the double object of blackening his character

and driving him from the colony. A grand jury was summoned, consisting of fifty persons, no trifling proportion of the adult male population of Savannah: four and forty met; and Wesley complains that of these one was a Frenchman, who did not understand English, one a Papist, one a profest infidel, some twenty were dissenters, (all of course unfit persons to decide upon a question relating to church discipline,) and several others persons who had personal quarrels with him, and had openly threatened to be revenged. Causton addressed them in an earnest speech, exhorting them to beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new and illegal authority which was usurped over their consciences: he then delivered in a list of grievances, which with some immaterial alterations was returned as a true bill, charging John Wesley with having "broken the laws of the realm, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity." The indictment contained ten counts, of which the first was for speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson against her husband's consent; the others related to his repelling her from the communion, his division of the service, and his conduct respecting baptisms and burials. He appeared before the court, and declared, that as nine of these counts related to ecclesiastical matters, they were not within the cognizance of that tribunal; but that which concerned speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson was of a secular nature, he said, and therefore he desired that it might be

tried upon the spot where the facts complained of had occurred. But it was in vain that he repeatedly demanded a hearing on this charge; and in this manner more than three months elapsed. During that time a donation of ten pounds from the Vice-Provost of Eton reached him, designed for his private use and for works of charity: when it arrived he had been several months without a shilling in the house, but not, he says, without peace, health, and contentment.

Indeed he had still zealous friends in the colony. Even among the jurors, though every means was taken to select men who were likely to favour his accusers, and no means for prepossessing them against him were spared, twelve persons were found, who in a paper addressed to the trustees, protested against the indictment as a scheme for gratifying personal malice by blackening Mr. Wesley's character. The indictment was found toward the end of August, and it seems that its first effect was to make him think of leaving Savannah: but on the tenth of September he says in his private journal, "I laid aside the thoughts of going to England; thinking it more suitable to my calling, still to commend my cause to God, and not to be in haste to justify myself." When however another month had elapsed, and the business appeared no nearer its decision, he consulted his friends, "whether God did not call him to return to England?" The reason, he said, for which he had left his country had now no force; there was as

yet no possibility of instructing the Indians*, neither had he found or heard of any Indians on the continent of America, who had the least desire of being instructed.—But it is not for their desire, that missionaries whose hearts have been intently set upon this good work have waited; and though the North American tribes have been found far less docile than those in the other part of the new continent, still sufficient proof had been given both in Canada and New England, that the labour of love was not lost upon them, when it was perseveringly pursued. Wesley could not find what he did not seek; other and greater labours were reserved for him: he was not to be a missionary himself, but a founder of missions, in which men more suitable for the work, would find their proper and most meritorious employment. It will not be deemed superstitious thus to notice as remarkable the manner in which Wesley gave up the object for

* Ingham had lived among the Creek-Indians for a few months, and had begun to compose a grammar of their language. Wesley has recorded a curious dialogue between himself and some Chicasaws, which I do not insert in this place because it is printed among the notes to Madoc. On his part it consisted chiefly of well directed questions. Whitefield was not so likely to have led these Indians into the right way, if we may judge by his conference with poor Tomo-Chichi when that chief was at the point of death. I desired his nephew Tooanoowee, who could talk English, he says, to enquire of his uncle "whether he thought he should die;" he answered "he could not tell." I then asked "where he thought he should go after death?" He replied, "To Heaven." But alas, how can a drunkard enter there! I then exhorted Tooanoowee who is a tall proper youth, not to get drunk, telling him he understood English, and therefore would be punished the more if he did not live better. I then asked him whether he believed a Heaven? He answered, "Yes." I then asked, whether he believed a Hell? and described it by pointing to the fire: he replied, "No."

which he went to Georgia, without one serious effort for its accomplishment, and apparently without being conscious of any want of effort, or any change in himself.

As to Savannah, he said, he had never engaged himself either by word or letter, to remain there a day longer than he should judge convenient; nor had he taken charge of the people any otherwise than as in his passage to the heathen; he therefore looked upon himself to be fully discharged from that cure by the vacating of his primary design; and besides there was a probability of his doing more service to that unhappy people in England, than he could do in Georgia, by representing the real state of the colony to the trustees without fear or favour. His friends, of whom the Moravians were probably the greater number, listened attentively to this reasoning; and after considering it well, were of opinion that he ought to go, but not yet. So for the present he laid aside the thought, being persuaded that when the time was come, God would make the way plain before his face. Another six weeks elapsed, during which he appeared at two more courts, to no other purpose than to hear himself reviled in calumnious affidavits by Mr. Causton. Weary of this, he laid the case again before his friends, and they agreed with him now that it was proper he should depart. Accordingly he called upon Causton to give him notice of his intention, and obtain money for the expenses of his voyage; and he posted up a paper in the great square with these words,—Whereas John Wesley

designs shortly to set out for England, this is to desire those who have borrowed any books of him to return them as soon as they conveniently can. He fixed his departure for the 2d of December, when he purposed to set out for Carolina about noon the tide then serving; at ten o'clock on that morning the magistrates sent for him, to say that he must not quit the province, because he had not answered the allegations brought against him. He replied, "that he had appeared at six or seven courts successively in order to answer them, and had not been suffered so to do, when he desired it time after time." They insisted nevertheless that he should not go unless he would give security to answer those allegations in their court. He asked what security; and after they had consulted together some two hours, the recorder produced a bond engaging him under a penalty of fifty pounds, to appear at their court when he should be required; and he added that Mr. Williamson also required bail, that he should answer his action. Upon this he replied resolutely, that he would neither give bond nor bail, saying, "You know your business, and I know mine."

It is very certain that the magistrates desired nothing more than to make him withdraw; but in order to keep up appearances, and stigmatize his departure as if it were a flight from justice, they published an order that afternoon, requiring all the officers and sentinels to prevent him from leaving the colony, and forbidding any person to assist him so to do. This order was not meant to

be obeyed. "Being now," he says, "only a prisoner at large in a place where I knew by experience every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidence of words I never said, and actions I never did, I saw clearly the hour was come for leaving this place; and soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my feet, and left Georgia after having preached the gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able,) one year and nearly nine months." He had three companions, one of whom meant to go with him to England, the other two to settle in Carolina. They landed at Purrysburg early in the morning, and not being able to procure a guide for Port Royal, set out an hour before sun-rise to walk there without one. After two or three hours they met an old man, who led them to a line of trees which had been marked by having part of the bark cut off; trees so marked are said to be *blazed*, and the path thus indicated is called a *blaze;* by following that line the old man said they might easily reach Port Royal in five or six hours. It led them to a swamp, which in America means a low watry ground overgrown with trees or canes: here they wandered about three hours before they discovered another blaze, which they followed till it divided into two branches; they pursued the one through an almost impassable thicket till it ended; then they returned and took the other with no better success. By this time it was near sun-set, and with a strange improvidence they had set out with no other

provision than a cake of gingerbread which Wesley had in his pocket. A third of this they had divided at noon, and another third served them for supper, for it was necessary to reserve some portion for the morrow. They were in want of drink: so thrusting a stick into the ground and finding the end moist, they dug with their hands, till at about three feet depth they found water; "We thanked God," he says, "drank, and were refreshed." It was a sharp night: he however had enured himself to privations and physical hardships: they prayed, lay down close to each other, and slept till near six in the morning. Then they steered due east for Port Royal, till finding neither path nor blaze, and perceiving that the woods grew thicker and thicker, they thought it advisable to find their way back if they could, for this was not easy in such a wilderness. By good hap, for it was done without any apprehension that it might be serviceable, Wesley on the preceding day had followed the Indian custom of breaking down some young trees in the thickest part of the woods; by these landmarks they were guided when there was no other indication of the way, and in the afternoon they reached the house of the old man, whose directions they had followed so unsuccessfully. The next day they obtained a guide to Port Royal, and thence they took boat for Charles Town.

Having remained there ten days, and then taking leave of America, but hoping that it was not for ever, he embarked for England. He had abated

somewhat of his rigorous mode of life; now he returned to what he calls his old simplicity of diet, and imputed to the change a relief from sea-sickness, which might more reasonably have been ascribed to continuance at sea. Wesley was never busier in the work of self-examination than during this homeward voyage. Feeling an apprehension of n ger from no apparent cause, while the sea was smooth and the wind light, he wrote in his journal, "Let us observe hereon: 1. That not one of these hours ought to pass out of my remembrance till I attain another manner of spirit, a spirit equally willing to glorify God by life or by death. 2. That whoever is uneasy on any account, (bodily pain alone excepted,) carries in himself, his own conviction that he is so far an unbeliever. Is he uneasy at the apprehension of death? Then he believeth not that *to die is gain.* At any of the events of life? Then he hath not a firm belief that *all things work together for* his *good.* And if he bring the matter more close, he will always find, besides the general want of faith, every particular uneasiness is evidently owing to the want of some particular Christian temper." He felt himself sorrowful and heavy without knowing why; though what had passed, and the state of excitement in which he had so long been kept, might well have explained to him the obvious cause of his depression. In this state, he began to doubt whether his unwillingness to discourse earnestly with the crew was not the cause of his uncomfortable feelings, and went, therefore, several times among the

sailors with an intent of speaking to them, but could not. "I mean," he says, "I was quite averse from speaking; I could not see how to make an occasion, and it seemed quite absurd to speak without. Is this a sufficient cause of silence, or no? Is it a prohibition from the good Spirit? or a temptation from nature or the evil one?" The state of the pulse or the stomach would have afforded a safer solution.

At this time in the fulness of his heart, he thus accused himself, and prayed for deliverance: "By the most infallible of proofs—inward feeling, I am convinced, 1. Of unbelief, having no such faith in Christ as will prevent my heart from being troubled; which it could not be if I believed in God, and rightly believed also in Him: 2. Of pride, throughout my life past, inasmuch as I thought I had, what I find I have not: 3. Of gross irrecollection, inasmuch as in a storm I cry to God every moment, in a calm not: 4. Of levity and luxuriancy of spirit, recurring whenever the pressure is taken off, and appearing by my speaking words not tending to edify; but most by the manner of speaking of my enemies. Lord save or I perish! Save me, 1. By such a faith as implies peace in life and in death: 2. By such humility as may fill my heart from this hour for ever, with a piercing uninterrupted sense, *Nihil est quod hactenus feci*, having evidently built without a foundation: 3. By such a recollection as may cry to thee every moment, especially when all is calm; give me faith, or I die! give me a lowly spirit! otherwise *mihi non sit suave vivere:* 4. By

steadiness, seriousness, σεμνοτης, sobriety of spirit, avoiding as fire every word that tendeth not to edifying, and never speaking of any who oppose me, or sin against God, without all my own sins set in array before my face." In this state he roused himself and exhorted his fellow-travellers with all his might; but the seriousness with which he impressed them soon disappeared when he left them to themselves. A severe storm came on: at first he was afraid, but having found comfort in prayer, lay down at night with composure, and fell asleep. "About midnight," he says, "we were awaked by a confused noise of seas and wind and men's voices, the like to which I had never heard before. The sound of the sea breaking over and against the sides of the ship, I could compare to nothing but large cannon, or American thunder. The rebounding, starting, quivering motion of the ship much resembled what is said of earthquakes. The captain was upon deck in an instant, but his men could not hear what he said. It blew a proper hurricane, which beginning at south-west, then went west, north-west, north, and in a quarter of an hour round by the east to the south-west point again. At the same time the sea running, as they term it, mountains high, and that from many different points at once, the ship would not obey the helm; nor indeed could the steersman, through the violent rain, see the compass; so he was forced to let her run before the wind; and in half an hour the stress of the storm was over. About noon the next day it ceased."

While it continued Wesley made a resolution to apply his spiritual labours not only to the whole crew collectively, but to every separate individual; and in the performance of this resolution he recovered his former elasticity of spirit, feeling no more of that fearfulness and heaviness which had lately weighed him down. Upon this change he says, "one who thinks the being *in Orco*, as they phrase it, an indispensable preparative for being a Christian, would say I had better have continued in that state; and that this unseasonable relief was a curse not a blessing. Nay, but who art thou, O man, who in favour of a wretched hypothesis, thus blasphemest the good gift of God? Hath not he himself said, 'This also is the gift of God, if a man have power to rejoice in his labour?' Yea, God setteth his own seal to his weak endeavours, while he thus 'answereth him in the joy of his heart.'"

The state of his mind at this time is peculiarly interesting, while it was thus agitated and impelled toward some vague object, as yet he knew not what, by the sense of duty and of power, and while those visitations of doubt were frequent, which darken the soul when they pass over it. "I went to America," he says, "to convert the Indians; but oh! who shall convert me? Who, what is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief? I have a fair summer religion, I can talk well, nay, and believe myself, while no danger is near: but let death look me in the face and my spirit is troubled; nor can I say *to die is gain.* I think verily if the Gospel be true, I am safe: for

I not only have given and do give all my goods to feed the poor; I not only give my body to be burnt, drowned, or whatever else God shall appoint for me, but I follow after charity (though not as I ought, yet as I can,) if haply I may attain it. I *now* believe the Gospel is true. *I shew my faith by my works*, by staking my all upon it. I would do so again and again a thousand times, if the choice were still to make. Whoever sees me, sees I *would* be a Christian. Therefore, *are my ways not like other men's ways:* therefore, I have been, I am, I am content to be, *a bye-word, a proverb of reproach.* But in a storm I think, what if the Gospel be not true? then thou art of all men most foolish. For what hast thou given thy goods, thy ease, thy friends, thy reputation, thy country, thy life? For what art thou wandering over the face of the earth? a dream? *a cunningly devised fable?* Oh, who will deliver me from this fear of death! What shall I do! Where shall I fly from it! Should I fight against it by thinking, or by not thinking of it? A wise man advised me some time since, 'Be still, and go on.' Perhaps this is best: to look upon it as my cross; when it comes, to let it humble me, and quicken all my good resolutions, especially that of praying without ceasing; and other times to take no thought about it, but quietly to go on in the work of the Lord." It is beautifully said by Sir Thomas Brown, "There is, as in philosophy, so in divinity, sturdy doubts and boisterous objections, wherewith the unhappiness of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us: more of these no man hath

known than myself, which I confess I conquered, not in a martial posture, but on my knees." What is remarkable in Wesley's case is that these misgivings of faith should have been felt by him chiefly in times of danger, which is directly contrary to general experience.

And now he reviewed the progress of his own religious life. "For many years I have been tossed about by various winds of doctrine. I asked long ago 'What must I do to be saved?' The Scripture answered, Keep the commandments, believe, hope, love.—I was early warned against laying, as the Papists do, too much stress on outward works, or on a faith without works, which as it does not include, so it will never lead to true hope or charity. Nor am I sensible that to this hour I have laid too much stress on either. But I fell among some Lutheran and Calvinist authors, who magnified faith to such an amazing size, that it hid all the rest of the commandments. I did not then see that this was the natural effect of their overgrown fear of popery, being so terrified with the cry of merit and good works, that they plunged at once into the other extreme; in this labyrinth I was utterly lost, not being able to find out what the error was, nor yet to reconcile this uncouth hypothesis, either with Scripture or common sense. The English writers, such as Bishop Beveridge, Bishop Taylor, and Mr. Nelson, a little relieved me from these well-meaning wrong-headed Germans. Only when they interpreted Scripture in different ways, I was often much at a loss. And there

was one thing much insisted on in Scripture,—the unity of the church, which none of them, I thought, clearly explained. But it was not long before Providence brought me to those who shewed me a sure rule of interpreting Scripture, *consensus veterum: Quod ab omnibus, quod ubique, quod semper creditum;* at the same time they sufficiently insisted upon a due regard to the one church at all times and in all places. Nor was it long before I bent the bow too far the other way: by making antiquity a co-ordinate rather than sub-ordinate rule with Scripture; by admitting several doubtful writings; by extending antiquity too far; by believing more practices to have been universal in the ancient church than ever were so; by not considering that the decrees of a provincial synod could bind only that province, and the decrees of a general synod only those provinces whose representatives met therein; that most of those decrees were adapted to particular times and occasions, and consequently when those occasions ceased, must cease to bind even those provinces. These considerations insensibly stole upon me as I grew acquainted with the mystic writers, whose noble descriptions of union with God and internal religion, made every thing else appear mean, flat, and insipid. But in truth they made good works appear so too: yea, and faith itself, and what not? They gave me an entire new view of religion, nothing like any I had before. But alas! it was nothing like that religion which Christ and his apostles loved and taught. I had a plenary dispensation from all the commands of

God; the form was thus: Love is all; all the commands beside are only means of love: you must chuse those which you feel are means to you, and use them as long as they are so. Thus were all the bands burst at once; and though I could never fully come into this, nor contentedly omit what God enjoined, yet, I know not how, I fluctuated between obedience and disobedience. I had no heart, no vigour, no zeal in obeying, continually doubting whether I was right or wrong, and never out of perplexities and entanglements. Nor can I at this hour give a distinct account, how or when I came a little back toward the right way; only my present sense is this, all the other enemies of Christianity are triflers, the mystics are the most dangerous; they stab it in the vitals, and its most serious professors are most likely to fall by them."

Having landed at Deal, the returning missionary recorded solemnly his own self-condemnation and sense of his own imperfect faith. "It is now," he said, "two years and almost four months since I left my native country, in order to teach the Georgian Indians the nature of Christianity. But what have I learnt myself meantime? Why,—what I the least of all suspected,—that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God. *I am not mad*, though I thus speak, but *I speak the words of truth and soberness;* if haply some of those who still dream may awake, and see that as I am, so are they. Are they read

in philosophy? So was I. In antient or modern tongues? So was I also. Are they versed in the science of divinity? I too have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently upon spiritual things? The very same could I do. Are they plenteous in alms? Behold, I gave all my goods to feed the poor. Do they give of their labour as well as their substance? I have laboured more abundantly than them all. Are they willing to suffer for their brethren? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, ease, country. I have put my life in my hand, wandering into strange lands; I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parched up with heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatsoever God shall please to bring upon me. But does all this (be it more or less, it matters not,) make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did, or can, *know*, *say*, *give*, *do*, or *suffer*, justify me in his sight? If the oracles of God are true, if we are still to abide by the *Law and Testimony*, all these things, though when ennobled by faith in Christ they are holy, and just, and good, yet without it are *dung* and *dross*. Thus then have I learned, in the ends of the earth, that my whole heart is altogether corrupt and abominable, and consequently my whole life:—that my own works, my own sufferings, my own righteousness, are so far from reconciling me to an offended God, so far from making any atonement for the least of those sins, which are more in number than the hairs of my head, that the most specious of them need an

atonement themselves:—that having the sentence of death in my heart, and nothing in or of myself to plead, I have no hope but that of being justified freely *through the redemption that is in Jesus*,—but that if I seek I shall find Christ, and be found in him. If it be said, that I have faith, (for many such things have I heard from many miserable comforters,) I answer, so have the devils,—*a sort* of faith; but still they are strangers to the covenant of promise. The faith I want is a sure trust and confidence in God, that through the merits of Christ my sins are forgiven, and I reconciled to the favour of God. I want that faith which none can have without knowing that he hath it (though many imagine they have it, who have it not); for whosoever hath it is *freed from sin; the whole body of sin is destroyed* in him: he is freed from fear, *having peace with God through Christ, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.* And he is freed from doubt, having the love of God shed abroad in his heart, through the Holy Ghost which is given unto him, which Spirit itself beareth witness with his spirit, that he is a child of God."

Yet on reflecting upon the time which he had spent in Georgia, he saw many reasons to bless God for having carried him into that strange land. There he had been humbled and proved,—there he had learned to know what was in his heart: there the passage had been opened for him to the writings of holy men in the German, Spanish, and Italian tongues; for he acquired the Spanish in

order to converse with his Jewish parishioners, and read prayers in Italian to a few Vaudois: and there he had been introduced to the church of Herrnhuth,—an event of considerable importance to his future life.

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS OF WHITEFIELD DURING WESLEY'S ABSENCE. WESLEY A PUPIL OF THE MORAVIANS.

WHITEFIELD sailed from the Downs for Georgia a few hours only before the vessel which brought Wesley back from thence cast anchor there. The ships passed in sight of each other, but neither of these remarkable men knew that so dear a friend was on the deck at which he was gazing. But when Wesley landed he learned that his coadjutor was on board the vessel in the offing: it was still possible to communicate with him; and Whitefield was not a little surprised at receiving a letter which contained these words: "When I saw God by the wind which was carrying you out brought me in, I asked counsel of God. His answer you have inclosed." The inclosure was a slip of paper, with this sentence, "Let him return to London." Wesley doubting, from his own experience, whether his friend could be so usefully employed in America as in England, had referred the question to chance, in which at that time he trusted implicitly, and this was the lot* which he had drawn. But

* This remarkable instance of Wesley's predilection for the practice of sortilege, is not noticed by either of his biographers. Whitefield himself relates it, in a letter published at the time of their separation. "We sailed immediately," he adds. "Some months after, I received

Whitefield, who never seems to have fallen into this superstition, was persuaded that he was called to Georgia; and even if he had not felt that impression upon his mind, the inconsistency of returning to London in obedience to a lot, which had been drawn without his consent or knowledge, and breaking the engagements which he had formed, would have been glaring, and the inconvenience not inconsiderable. He betook himself to prayer: the story of the prophet in the book of Kings came forcibly to his recollection, how he turned back from his appointed course, because another prophet told him it was the will of the Lord that he should do so, and for that reason a lion met him by the way. So he proceeded on his voyage. The previous career of the disciple in England, during the master's absence in America, must now be retraced.

---

a letter from you at Georgia, wherein you wrote words to this effect: 'though God never before gave me a wrong lot, yet perhaps he suffered me to have such a lot at that time, to try what was in your heart.' "I should never," says Whitefield, "have published this private transaction to the world, did not the glory of God call me to it. It is plain you had a wrong lot given you here, and justly, because you tempted God in drawing one." Whitefield afterwards, in his remarks upon Bishop Lavington's book, refers to this subject in a manner which does him honour. "My mentioning," he says, "Mr. Wesley's casting a lot on a private occasion, known only to God and ourselves, has put me to great pain.—It was wrong in me to publish a private transaction to the world; and very ill-judged to think the glory of God could be promoted by unnecessarily exposing my friend. For this I have asked both God and him pardon years ago. And though I believe both have forgiven me, yet I believe I shall never be able to forgive myself. As it was a public fault, I think it should be publicly acknowledged; and I thank a kind Providence for giving me this opportunity of doing it."

Less clear, less logical, less formed for command and legislation than Wesley, Whitefield was of a more ardent nature, and arrived at the end of his spiritual course, before Wesley had obtained sight of the goal. It was soon after his introduction to the two brothers that he thus outran them. In reading a treatise, entitled "The Life of God in the Soul of Man," wherein he found it asserted, that true religion is an union of the soul with God or Christ, formed within us, a ray of divine light, he says, instantaneously darted in upon him, and from that moment he knew that he must be a new creature. But in seeking to attain that religious state which brings with it the peace that passeth all understanding, the vehemence of his disposition led him into greater excesses than any of his compeers at Oxford. He describes himself as having all sensible comforts withdrawn from him, overwhelmed with a horrible fearfulness and dread, all power of meditation, or even thinking, taken away, his memory gone, his whole soul barren and dry, and his sensations, as he imagined, like those of a man locked up in iron armour. "Whenever I knelt down," he says, "I felt great pressures both on soul and body; and have often prayed under the weight of them till the sweat came through me. God only knows how many nights I have lain upon my bed, groaning under what I felt. Whole days and weeks have I spent in lying prostrate on the ground in silent or vocal prayer." In this state he began to practise austerities, such as the Romish superstition encourages: he chose the worst food, and

affected mean apparel; he made himself remarkable by leaving off powder in his hair, when every one else was powdered, because he thought it unbecoming a penitent; and he wore woollen gloves, a patched gown, and dirty shoes, as visible signs of humility. Such conduct drew upon him contempt, insult, and the more serious consequence, that part of that pay on which he depended for his support, was taken from him by men who did not chuse to be served by so slovenly a servitor. Other excesses injured his health: he would kneel under the trees in Christ Church Walk in silent prayer, shivering the while with cold, till the great bell summoned him to his college for the night: he exposed himself to cold in the morning till his hands were quite black: he kept Lent so strictly, that, except on Saturdays and Sundays, his only food was coarse bread and sage tea, without sugar. The end of this was, that before the termination of the forty days, he had scarcely strength enough left to creep up stairs, and was under a physician for many weeks.

At the close of the severe illness which he had thus brought on himself, a happy change of mind confirmed his returning health;—it may best be related in his own words. He says, "Notwithstanding my fit of sickness continued six or seven weeks, I trust I shall have reason to bless God for it through the endless ages of eternity. For, about the end of the seventh week, after having undergone innumerable buffetings of Satan, and many months inexpressible trials, by night and day, un-

der the spirit of bondage, God was pleased at length to remove the heavy load, to enable me to lay hold on his dear Son by a living faith, and, by giving me the spirit of adoption, to seal me, as I humbly hope, even to the day of everlasting redemption. But oh! with what joy, joy unspeakable, even joy that was full of and big with glory, was my soul filled, when the weight of sin went off, and an abiding sense of the pardoning love of God, and a full assurance of faith, broke in upon my disconsolate soul! Surely it was the day of my espousals,—a day to be had in everlasting remembrance. At first, my joys were like a spring tide, and, as it were, overflowed the banks. Go where I would I could not avoid singing of psalms almost aloud; afterwards, they became more settled, and, blessed be God, saving a few casual intervals, have abode and increased in my soul ever since."

The Wesleys at this time were in Georgia; and some person, who feared lest the little society which they had formed at Oxford should be broken up and totally dissolved for want of a superintendant, had written to a certain Sir John Philips of London, who was ready to assist in religious works with his purse, and recommended Whitefield as a proper person to be encouraged and patronized more especially for this purpose. Sir John immediately gave him an annuity of 20l., and promised to make it 30l., if he would continue at Oxford; —for if this place could be leavened with the vital spirit of religion, it would be like medicating the waters at their spring. His illness rendered it

expedient for him to change the air; and he went accordingly to his native city, where, laying aside all other books, he devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures, reading them upon his knees, and praying over every line and word. "Thus," as he expresses himself, "he daily received fresh life, light and power from above; and found it profitable for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, every way sufficient to make the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work." His general character, his demeanour at church, his visiting the poor, and praying with the prisoners, attracted the notice of Dr. Benson, the then Bishop of Gloucester, who sent for him one day after the evening service, and having asked his age, which was little more than twenty-one, told him, that although he had resolved not to ordain any one under three-and-twenty, he should think it his duty to ordain him whenever he came for holy orders. Whitefield himself had felt a proper degree of fear at undertaking so sacred an office; his repugnance was now over-ruled by this encouragement, and by the persuasion of his friends; and as he preferred remaining at Oxford, Sir John Philips's allowance was held a sufficient title by the bishop, who would otherwise have provided him with a cure. Whitefield prepared himself by abstinence and prayer; and on the Saturday eve, retiring to a hill near the town, he there prayed fervently for about two hours, in behalf of himself and those who were to enter into holy orders at the same time. On the fol-

lowing morning he was ordained. "I trust," he says, "I answered to every question from the bottom of my heart; and heartily prayed that God might say Amen. And when the bishop laid his hands upon my head, if my vile heart doth not deceive me, I offered up my whole spirit, soul and body, to the service of God's sanctuary."—"Let come what will, life or death, depth or heighth, I shall henceforwards live like one who this day, in the presence of men and angels, took the holy sacrament, upon the profession of being inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon me that ministration in the church. I can call heaven and earth to witness, that when the bishop laid his hand upon me, I gave myself up to be a martyr for Him who hung upon the cross for me. Known unto Him are all future events and contingencies: I have thrown myself blindfold, and, I trust, without reserve, into His Almighty hands." Such were his feelings at the hour, and they were not belied by the whole tenour of his after-life.

Bishop Benson appears to have felt a sincere regard for the young man whom he had thus ordained, little aware of the course which he was designed to run. Whitefield speaks at this time of having received from the good prelate another present of five guineas; "a great supply," he says, "for one who had not a guinea in the world." He began with as small a stock of sermons as of worldly wealth: it had been his intention to have prepared at least an hundred wherewith to commence his ministry; he found himself with only one: it

proved a fruitful one; for having lent it to a neighbouring clergyman, to convince him how unfit he was, as he really believed himself to be, for the work of preaching, the clergyman divided it into two, which he preached morning and evening to his congregation, and sent it back with a guinea for its use. With this sermon he first appeared in the pulpit, in the church of St. Mary de Crypt, where he had been baptized, and where he had first received the sacrament. Curiosity had brought together a large congregation; and he now, he says, felt the unspeakable advantage of having been accustomed to public speaking when a boy at school, and of exhorting and teaching the prisoners and poor people at Oxford. More than this, he felt what he believed to be a sense of the Divine presence, and kindling as he went on in this belief, spake, as he thought, with some degree of gospel authority. A few of his hearers mocked, but upon the greater number a strong impression was produced, and complaint was made to the bishop that fifteen persons had been driven mad by the sermon. The good man replied, he wished the madness might not be forgotten before the next Sunday.

That same week he returned to Oxford, took his degree, and continued to visit the prisoners, and inspect two or three charity schools which were supported by the Methodists. With this state of life he was more than contented, and thought of continuing in the University at least for some years, that he might complete his studies, and do what

good he might among the gownsmen; to convert one of them would be as much as converting a whole parish. From thence, however, he was invited ere long to officiate at the Tower chapel, in London, during the absence of the curate. It was a summons which he obeyed with fear and trembling; but he was soon made sensible of his power; for though the first time he entered a pulpit in the metropolis the congregation seemed disposed to sneer at him on account of his youth, they grew serious during his discourse, shewed him great tokens of respect as he came down, and blessed him as he passed along, while enquiry was made on every side, from one to another, who he was. Two months he continued in London, reading prayers every evening at Wapping chapel, and twice a week at the Tower, preaching and catechising there once; preaching every Tuesday at Ludgate prison, and daily visiting the soldiers in the infirmary and barracks. The chapel was crowded when he preached, persons came from different parts of the town to hear him, and proof enough was given that an earnest minister will make an attentive congregation.

Having returned to Oxford, the society grew under his care, and friends were not wanting to provide for their temporal support. Lady Betty Hastings allowed small exhibitions to some of his disciples; he himself received some marks of well-bestowed bounty, and was entrusted also with money for the poor. It happened after a while that Mr. Kinchin, the minister of Dummer, in

Hampshire, being likely to be chosen Dean of Corpus Christi College, invited him to officiate in his parish while he went to Oxford, till the election should be decided. Here Whitefield found himself among poor and illiterate people, and his proud heart, he says, could not at first brook the change; he would have given the world for one of his Oxford friends, and "mourned for want of them like a dove." He found, however, in one of Mr. Law's books, a fictitious character held up for imitation: this ideal being served him for a friend; and he had soon full satisfaction, as well as full employment, in pursuing the same round of duties as his predecessor. For the people had been taught by their pastor to attend public prayers twice a-day; in the morning before they went to work, and in the evening after they returned from it: their zealous minister had also been accustomed to catechise the children daily, and visit his parishioners from house to house. In pursuance of this plan, Whitefield allotted eight hours to these offices, eight for study and retirement, and eight for the necessities of nature: he soon learnt to love the people among whom he laboured, and derived from their society a greater improvement than books could have given him.

While he was in London, some letters from Ingham and the Wesleys had made him long to follow them to Georgia: but when he opened these desires to his friends, they persuaded him that labourers were wanting at home; that he had no visible call abroad; and that it was his duty to wait

and see what Providence might point out for him, —not to do any thing rashly. He now learnt that Charles Wesley was come over to procure assistance; and though Charles did not invite him to the undertaking, yet he wrote in terms which made it evident that he was in his thoughts, as a proper person. Soon afterwards came a letter from John, "Only Mr. Delamotte is with me," he said, "till God shall stir up the hearts of some of his servants, who, putting their lives in his hands, shall come over and help us, where the harvest is so great, and the labourers so few. What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield?" In another letter, it was said, "Do you ask me what you shall have? —Food to eat, and raiment to put on; a house to lay your head in, such as your Lord had not; and a crown of glory that fadeth not away." Upon reading this, his heart, he says, leaped within him, and, as it were, echoed to the call. The desire thus formed soon ripened into a purpose, for which all circumstances seemed favourable. Mr. Kinchin had been elected Dean, and must therefore reside at College; he would take upon him the charge of the prisoners: Harvey was ready to supply his place in the curacy; there were many Indians in Georgia,—for their sake it was a matter of great importance that serious clergymen should be sent over: there he should find Wesley, his spiritual teacher and dear friend: a sea voyage, too, might not improbably be helpful to his weakened constitution. Thus he reasoned, finding in every circumstance something which flattered his purpose: and having strengthened it by prayer into a set-

tled resolution, which he knew could never be carried into effect if he "conferred with flesh and blood," he wrote to his relations at Gloucester, telling them his design, and saying, that if they would promise not to dissuade him, he would visit them to take his leave; but otherwise he would embark without seeing them, for he knew his own weakness.

Herein he acted wisely, but the promise which he extorted was not strictly observed: his aged mother wept sorely; and others, who had no such cause to justify their interference, represented to him what "pretty preferment" he might have if he would stay at home. The Bishop approved his determination, received him like a father, as he always did, and doubted not but that God would bless him, and that he would do much good abroad. From Gloucester he went to bid his friends at Bristol farewell. Here he was held in high honour: the mayor appointed him to preach before the corporation; Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, people of all denominations, flocked to hear him; the churches were as full on week days as they used to be on Sundays; and on Sundays crowds were obliged to go away for want of room. "The whole city," he said, "seemed to be alarmed." But though he says that "the Word was sharper than a two-edged sword, and that the doctrine of the New Birth made its way like lightning into the hearers' consciences," the doctrine had not yet assumed a fanatic tone, and produced no extravagance in public.

He himself, however, was in a state of high enthusiasm. Having been accepted by General Oglethorpe and the trustees, and presented to the Bishop of London and the Primate, and finding that it would be some months before the vessel in which he was to embark would be ready, he went for a while to serve the church of one of his friends at Stonehouse, in his native county; and there he describes the habitual exaltation of his mind in glowing language. Uncommon manifestations, he says, were granted him from above. Early in the morning, at noon-day, evening, and midnight,—nay, all the day long, did the Redeemer visit and refresh his heart. Could the trees of the wood speak, they would tell what sweet communion he and his Christian brethren had under their shade enjoyed with their God. "Sometimes as I have been walking," he continues, "my soul would make such sallies, that I thought it would go out of the body. At other times I would be so overpowered with a sense of God's infinite majesty, that I would be constrained to throw myself prostrate on the ground, and offer my soul as a blank in his hands, to write on it what he pleased. One night was a time never to be forgotten. It happened to lighten exceedingly. I had been expounding to many people, and some being afraid to go home, I thought it my duty to accompany them, and improve the occasion, to stir them up to prepare for the coming of the Son of Man. In my return to the parsonage, whilst others were rising from their beds, and frightened almost to death to

see the lightning run upon the ground, and shine from one part of the heaven unto the other, I and another, a poor but pious countryman, were in the field, praising, praying to, and exulting in our God, and longing for that time when Jesus shall be revealed from heaven in a flame of fire! Oh that my soul may be in a like frame when he shall actually come to call me!"

From hence he went again to Bristol, having received many and pressing invitations. Multitudes came out on foot to meet him, and some in coaches, a mile without the city; and the people saluted and blest him as he passed along the street. He preached about five times a week to such congregations, that it was with great difficulty he could make way along the crowded aisles to the reading desk. "Some hung upon the rails of the organ-loft, others climbed upon the leads of the church, and altogether made the church so hot with their breath, that the steam would fall from the pillars like drops of rain." When he preached his farewell sermon, and said to the people that perhaps they might see his face no more, high and low, young and old, burst into tears. Multitudes after the sermon followed him home weeping: the next day he was employed from seven in the morning till midnight in talking and giving spiritual advice to awakened hearers; and he left Bristol secretly in the middle of the night, to avoid the ceremony of being escorted by horsemen and coaches out of the town.

The man who produced this extraordinary effect had many natural advantages. He was something above the middle stature, well proportioned, though at that time slender, and remarkable for a native gracefulness of manner. His complexion was very fair, his features regular, his eyes small and lively, of a dark blue colour: in recovering from the measles he had contracted a squint with one of them; but this peculiarity rather rendered the expression of his countenance more remembrable, than any degree lessened the effect of its uncommon sweetness. His voice excelled both in melody and compass, and its fine modulations were happily accompanied by that grace of action which he possessed in an eminent degree, and which has been said to be the chief requisite of an orator. An ignorant man described his eloquence oddly but strikingly, when he said, that Mr. Whitefield preached like a lion. So strange a comparison conveyed no unapt a notion of the force and vehemence and passion of that oratory which awed the hearers, and made them tremble like Felix before the apostle. For believing himself to be the messenger of God, commissioned to call sinners to repentance, he spoke as one conscious of his high credentials, with authority and power; yet in all his discourses there was a fervent and melting charity, an earnestness of persuasion, an outpouring of redundant love, partaking the virtue of that faith from which it flowed, inasmuch as it seemed to enter the heart which it pierced, and to heal it as with balm.

The same flood of popularity followed him in London. He was invited to preach at Cripplegate, St. Anne's, and Foster-Lane churches, at six on Sunday mornings, and to assist in administering the sacrament: so many attended, that they were obliged to consecrate fresh elements twice or thrice, and the stewards found it difficult to carry the offerings to the communion-table. Such an orator was soon applied to by the managers of various charities; and as his stay was to be so short, they obtained the use of the churches on week days. It was necessary to place constables at the doors within and without, such multitudes assembled; and on Sunday mornings in the latter months of the year, long before day, you might see the streets filled with people going to hear him, with lanthorns in their hands. Above a thousand pounds were collected for the charity children by his preaching,—in those days a prodigious sum, larger collections being made than had ever before been known on like occasions. A paragraph was published in one of the newspapers, speaking of his success, and announcing where he was to preach next: he sent to the printer, requesting that nothing of this kind might be inserted again; the fellow replied, that he was paid for doing it, and that he would not lose two shillings for any body. The nearer the time of his departure approached, the more eager were the people to hear him, and the more warmly they expressed their admiration and love for the preacher. They stopt him in the aisles and embraced him; they waited upon him at

his lodgings to lay open their souls; they begged religious books of him, and entreated him to write their names with his own hand: and when he preached his farewell sermon, here, as at Bristol, the whole congregation wept and sobbed aloud. At the end of the year he left London, and embarked at Gravesend for Georgia.

This unexampled popularity excited some jealousy in a part of the clergy, and in others a more reasonable enquiry concerning the means whereby it was obtained. Complaints were made that the crowds who followed him left no room for the parishioners, and spoiled the pews; and he was compelled to print the sermon on the Nature and Necessity of our Regeneration, or New Birth in Christ Jesus, through the importunity of friends, he says, and the aspersions of enemies. It was reported in London that the Bishop intended to silence him, upon the complaint of the clergy. In consequence of this report, he waited upon the Bishop, and asked whether any such complaint had been lodged. Being satisfactorily answered in the negative, he asked whether any objection could be made against his doctrine; the Bishop replied, no; he knew a clergyman who had heard him preach a plain scriptural sermon. He then asked whether his Lordship would give him a licence; and the Bishop avoided a direct reply, by saying that he needed none, for he was going to Georgia. Evidently he thought this a happy destination for one whose fervent spirit was likely to lead him into extrava-

gancies of doctrine as well as of life; for sometimes he scarcely allowed himself an hour's sleep, and once he spent a whole night among his disciples in prayer and praise. His frequent intercourse with the more serious Dissenters gave cause of offence; for the evils which Puritanism had brought upon this kingdom were at that time neither forgotten nor forgiven. He "found their conversation savoury," and judged rightly, that the best way to bring them over was not by bigotry and railing, but by moderation, and love, and undissembled holiness of life. And on their part they told him, that if the doctrine of the New Birth and Justification by Faith were powerfully preached in the church, there would be but few Dissenters in England. On the other hand, the manner in which he dwelt upon this doctrine alarmed some of the clergy, who apprehended the consequences; and on this account he was informed, that if he continued in that strain, they would not allow him to preach any more in their pulpits.

Doubtless those persons who felt and reasoned thus, rejoiced in Whitefield's departure to a country where the whole force of his enthusiasm might safely expand itself. But in all stirring seasons, when any great changes are to be operated, either in the sphere of human knowledge or of human actions, agents enough are ready to appear; and those men who become for posterity the great landmarks of their age, receive their bias from the times in which they live, and the circumstances in which

they are placed, before they themselves* give the directing impulse. It is apparent, that though the Wesleys should never have existed, Whitefield would have given birth to Methodism :—and now when Whitefield, having excited this powerful sensation in London, had departed for Georgia, to the joy of those who dreaded the excesses of his zeal, no sooner had he left the metropolis than Wesley arrived there, to deepen and widen the impression which Whitefield had made. Had their measures been concerted, they could not more entirely have accorded. The first sermon which Wesley preached was upon these strong words: "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature;" and though he himself had not yet reached the same stage in his progress as his more ardent coadjutor, the discourse was so high-strained, that he was informed he was not to preach again in that pulpit.

This was on the second day after his arrival in London. Two days afterwards he met, at the house of a Dutch merchant, three Moravian brethren, by name Wenceslaus Neisser, George Schulius, and Peter Boehler; all these were just arrived from Germany, and the two latter were on

* "I have often observed," says Cowley, "(with all submission and resignation of spirit to the inscrutable mysteries of Eternal Providence,) that when the fulness and maturity of time is come, that produces the great confusions and changes in the world, it usually pleases God to make it appear by the manner of them, that they are not the effects of human force or policy, but of the divine justice and predestination: and though we see a man, like that which we call Jack of the Clock House, striking, as it were, the hour of that fulness of time, yet our reason must needs be convinced, that the hand is moved by some secret, and to us from without, invisible direction."

their way to Georgia. He marks the day in his journal as much to be remembered on account of this meeting. On the next Sunday he preached at St. Andrew's, Holborn, and there also was informed that he was to preach no more. In the course of the week he went to Oxford, whither Peter Boehler accompanied him, and where he found only one of the little Society which he had formed there; the rest having been called to their several stations in the world. During these days he conversed much with the Moravian, but says, that he understood him not; and least of all when he said, *Mi frater, mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua Philosophia.* Ere long, being with his brother at Salisbury, and preparing for a journey to his brother Samuel, at Tiverton, he was recalled to Oxford by a message that Charles was dying there of a pleurisy: setting off immediately upon this mournful summons, he found him recovering, and Peter Boehler with him. Boehler possessed one kind of philosophy in a higher degree than his friend: the singularity of their appearance and manner excited some mockery from the under-graduates, and the German, who perceived that Wesley was annoyed by it chiefly on his account, said, with a smile, *Mi frater, non adhæret vestibus,* "it does not even stick to our clothes." This man, a person of no ordinary powers of mind, became Wesley's teacher: it is no slight proof of his commanding intellect, that he was listened to as such; and by him, "in the hands of the great God," says Wesley, "I was clearly convinced of unbelief,—of the want of that faith

whereby alone we are saved." A scruple immediately occurred to him, whether he ought not to leave off preaching,—for how could he preach to others who had not faith himself? Boehler was consulted whether he should leave it off, and answered, "By no means." "But what can I preach?" said Wesley. The Moravian replied, "Preach faith *till* you have it; and then, *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith." Accordingly he began to preach this doctrine, though, he says, his soul started back from the work.

He had a little before resolved, and written down the resolution as a covenant with himself, that he would use absolute openness and unreserve towards all whom he should converse with; that he would labour after continual seriousness, not willingly indulging himself in any the least levity of behaviour, nor in laughter, no, not for a moment, and that he would speak no word, and take no pleasure, which did not tend to the glory of God. In this spirit he began to exhort the hostess or the servants at an inn, the chance company with whom he was set at meat, and the traveller with whom he fell in on the road: if a passing salutation were exchanged, a word of religious exhortation was added. Mr. Kinchin, the good minister of Dummer, was one of his fellow-travellers in a journey to and from Manchester; and because they neglected to instruct those who attended them while they dined at Birmingham, Wesley says they were reproved for their negligence by a severe shower of hail. No clamour

having as yet gone forth against the Methodists, the natural effect of their unusual conduct was not disturbed by any prejudices or vulgar prepossession. Some were attentive, some were affected, some were unconcerned; but all were astonished. A stranger hearing him address the ostler, followed him into the house, and said, "I believe you are a good man, and I come to tell you a little of my life:" the tears were in his eyes all the while he spoke, and the travellers had good hope that not a word of their advice would be lost. At another place they were served by a gay young woman, who listened to them with utter indifference; however, when they went away, "she fixed her eyes, and neither moved nor said one word, but appeared as much astonished as if she had seen one risen from the dead." A man who sat with his hat on while Mr. Wesley said grace, changed countenance at his discourse during dinner, stole it off his head, and laying it down behind him, said, all they were saying was true, but he had been a grievous sinner, and not considered it as he ought: now, with God's help, he would turn to him in earnest. A Quaker fell in with him, well skilled in controversy, and "therefore sufficiently fond of it." After an hour's discourse, Wesley advised him to dispute as little as possible, but rather to follow after holiness, and walk humbly with his God.

Having returned to Oxford, and being at a meeting of his religious friends, his heart was so full that he could not confine himself to the forms of prayer which they were accustomed to use at such times; and from that time forth he resolved

to pray indifferently with or without form, as the occasion and the impulse might indicate. Here he met Peter Boehler again; and was more and more amazed by the account the Moravian gave of the fruits of living faith, and the holiness and happiness wherewith, he affirmed, it was attended. The next morning he began his Greek Testament, "resolving to abide by the law and the testimony, and being confident that God would thereby show him whether this doctrine was of God. After a few weeks they met once more in London, and Wesley assented to what he said of faith, but was as yet unable to comprehend how this faith could be given instantaneously as Boehler maintained; for hitherto he had had no conception of that perpetual and individual revelation which is now the doctrine of his sect. He could not understand, "How a man could *at once* be thus turned from darkness to light, from sin and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost." But seeing Boehler in a happier state of mind than himself, he regarded him as having attained nearer to Christian perfection; and the Moravians, from the hour that he became acquainted with them, had evidently obtained a strong ascendancy over him. He searched the Scriptures again, touching the difference between them, the point upon which he halted; and examining more particularly the Acts of the Apostles, he says, that he was utterly astonished at finding scarcely any instances there of other than *instantaneous* conversions. "Scarce any other so slow as that of St. Paul, who was three days in the

pangs of the New Birth."—Is it possible that a man of Wesley's acuteness should have studied the Scriptures as he had studied them, till the age of five-and-thirty, without perceiving that the conversions which they record are instantaneous? and is it possible, that he should not now have perceived that they were necessarily instantaneous, because they were produced by plain miracles?

His last retreat was, that although the Almighty had wrought thus in the first ages of the church, the times were changed, and what reason was there for supposing that he worked in the same manner now? "But," he says, "I was beat out of this retreat too by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses, who testified God had thus wrought in themselves; giving them in a moment such a faith in the blood of his Son, as translated them out of darkness into light, out of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing, I could now only cry out, Lord, help thou my unbelief!" In after-life, when Wesley looked back upon this part of his progress, he concluded that he had then the faith of a servant, though not of a son. At the time he believed himself to be without faith; Charles was angry at the language which he held, for Charles had not kept pace with him in these latter changes of opinion, and told him he did not know what mischief he had done by talking thus. "And indeed," says Wesley, as if contemplating with exultation the career which he was to run, "it did please God to kindle a fire, which I trust shall never be extinguished."

While he was in this state of mind, between forty and fifty persons, for so many, including the Moravians, were now collected in London, agreed to meet together weekly, and drew up the fundamental rules of their society "in obedience to the command of God by St. James, and by the advice of Peter Boehler;" in such estimation did Wesley at this time hold his spiritual master. They were to be divided into several bands or little companies, none consisting of fewer than five, or more than ten persons; in these bands every one in order engaged to speak as freely, plainly, and concisely as he could, the real state of his heart, with his several temptations and deliverances since the last meeting. On Wednesday evenings, at eight o'clock, all the bands were to have a conference, beginning and ending with hymns and prayer. Any person who desired admission into this society was to be asked, what were his motives, whether he would be entirely open, using no kind of reserve, and whether he objected to any of the rules. When he should be proposed, every one present who felt any objection to his admission, should state it fairly and fully: they who were received on trial were to be formed into distinct bands, and some experienced person chosen to assist them; and if no objection appeared to them after two months, they might then be admitted into the society. Every fourth Saturday was to be observed as a day of general intercession; and on the Sunday sevennight following, a general love-feast should be held, from seven till ten in the

evening. The last article provided that no member should be allowed to act in any thing contrary to any order of the society, and that any person who did not conform to those orders after being thrice admonished, should no longer be esteemed a member.

These rules were in the spirit of the Moravian institutions, for Wesley was now united with the Brethren in doctrine, as far as he understood their doctrine, and well disposed to many parts of their discipline. Charles also now yielded to Peter Boehler's commanding abilities, and was by him persuaded of the necessity of a faith differing from any thing which he had yet felt or imagined. The day after he had won this victory, Boehler left London to embark for Georgia. "O what a work," says Wesley, "has God begun since his coming into England! Such a one as shall never come to an end, till Heaven and earth pass away!" —so fully was he possessed with a sense of the important part which he was to act, and of the extensive influence which his life and labours would produce upon mankind, that these aspiring presages were recorded even now, whilst he was in the darkest and most unsatisfactory state of his progress. In preaching, however, he was enabled to speak strong words, and his "heart was so enlarged to declare the love of God," that it did not surprize him to be informed he was not to preach again in those churches where he had given this free utterance to the fulness of his feelings.

At this time he addressed a remarkable letter to William Law, the extraordinary man whom he once regarded as his spiritual instructor. The letter began in these words: "It is in obedience to what I think to be the call of God, that I, who have the sentence of death in my own soul, take upon me to write to you, of whom I have often desired to learn the first elements of the Gospel of Christ. If you are born of God you will approve the design, though it may be but weakly executed; if not, I shall grieve for you, not for myself. For as I seek not the praise of men, so neither regard I the contempt either of you or any other." With this exordium he introduced a severe lecture to his discarded master. For two years he said he had been preaching after the model of Mr. Law's two practical treatises, and all who heard had allowed that the law was great, wonderful, and holy; but when they attempted to fulfil it, they found that it was too high for man, and that by doing the works of the law should no flesh living be justified. He had then exhorted to pray earnestly for grace, and use all those other means of obtaining it which God hath appointed. Still he and his hearers were more and more convinced that by this law man cannot live; and under this heavy yoke he might have groaned till death, had not a holy man, to whom God had lately directed him, answered his complaining at once, by saying, "Believe, and thou shalt be saved. Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all thy heart, and nothing shall be impossible to thee. Strip thyself naked of thy own

works and thy own righteousness, and flee to him." "Now, Sir," continued Wesley, "suffer me to ask, how will you answer it to our common Lord that you never gave me this advice? Why did I scarcely ever hear you name the name of Christ; never so as to ground any thing upon faith in his blood? If you say, you advised other things as preparatory to this, what is this but laying a foundation below the foundation? is not Christ then the First as well as the Last? If you say you advised them, because you knew that I had faith already, verily you knew nothing of me; you discerned not my spirit at all." Law had given good proof of his discernment when he said to the aspirant, "Sir, I perceive you would fain convert the world!"

"I know that I had not faith," he continues; "unless the faith of a devil, the faith of Judas, that speculative, notional, airy shadow, which lives in the head, not in the heart. But what is this to the living, justifying faith, the faith that cleanses from sin?—I beseech you, Sir, by the mercies of God, to consider deeply and impartially, whether the true reason of your never pressing this upon me, was not this, that you had it not yourself?" He then warned him, on the authority of Peter Boehler, whom he called a man of God, and whom he knew, he said, to have the Spirit of God, that his state was a very dangerous one; and asked him whether his extreme roughness, and morose and sour behaviour, could possibly be the fruit of a living faith in Christ?

To this extraordinary letter Law returned a temperate answer. "As you have written," said he, "in obedience to a divine call, and in conjunction with another extraordinary good young man, whom you know to have the Spirit of God, so I assure you, that considering your letter in that view, I neither desire, nor dare to make the smallest defence of myself. I have not the least inclination to question your mission, nor the smallest repugnance to own, receive, reverence, and submit myself to you both in the exalted character to which you lay claim. But upon supposition that you had here only acted by that ordinary light, which is common to good and sober minds, I should remark upon your letter as follows: How you may have been two years preaching the doctrine of the two Practical Discourses, or how you may have tired yourself and your hearers to no purpose, is what I cannot say much to. A holy man you say, taught you thus: *Believe and thou shalt be saved. Believe in the Lord Jesus with all thy heart, and nothing shall be impossible to thee. Strip thyself naked of thy own works and thy own righteousness, and flee to him.* I am to suppose that till you met with this holy man you had not been taught this doctrine. Did you not above two years ago, give a new translation of Thomas à Kempis? Will you call Thomas to account, and to answer it to God, as you do me, for not teaching you that doctrine? Or will you say that you took upon you to restore the true sense of that divine writer, and to instruct others how they might best profit by

reading him, before you had so much as a literal knowledge of the most plain, open, and repeated doctrine in his book? You cannot but remember what value I always expressed for Kempis, and how much I recommended it to your meditations. You have had a great many conversations with me, and I dare say that you never was with me for half an hour, without my being large upon that very doctrine, which you make me totally silent and ignorant of. How far I may have discerned your spirit, or the spirit of others that have conversed with me, may, perhaps, be more a secret to you than you imagine. But granting you to be right in the account of your own faith, how am I chargeable with it?

"I am to suppose that after you had been meditating upon an author, that of all others, leads us the most directly to a real, living faith in Jesus Christ, after you had judged yourself such a master of his sentiments and doctrines, as to be able to publish them to the world, with directions and instructions concerning such experimental divinity; that years after you had done this, you had only the faith of a devil or Judas, an empty notion only in your head; and that you was in this state through ignorance that there was any better to be sought after; and that you was in this ignorance, because I never directed or called you to this true faith. But, Sir, as Kempis and I have both of us had your acquaintance and conversation, so pray let the fault be divided betwixt us; and I shall be content to have it said that I left you in as much ignorance

of this faith, as he did, or that you learnt no more of it by conversing with me than with him. If you had only this faith till some weeks ago, let me advise you not to be too hasty in believing, that because you have changed your language or expressions, you have changed your faith. The head can as easily amuse itself with a *living and justifying faith in the blood of Jesus*, as with any other notion; and the heart, which you suppose to be a place of security, as being the seat of self-love, is more deceitful than the head. 'Your last paragraph concerning my sour rough behaviour, I leave in its full force; whatever you can say of me of that kind, without hurting yourself, will be always well received by me."

Many years afterwards Wesley printed, and in so doing sanctioned, an observation of one of his correspondents, which explains the difference that now appeared to him so frightful between his own doctrine and that of William Law. "Perhaps," said this writer, "what the best heathens called Reason, and Solomon Wisdom, St. Paul Grace in general, and St. John Righteousness or Love, Luther Faith, and Fenelon Virtue, may be only different expressions for one and the self same blessing, the light of Christ shining in different degrees under different dispensations. Why then so many words and so little charity exercised among Christians, about the particular term of a blessing experienced more or less by all righteous men!" There are sufficient indications that in the latter part of his life Wesley reposed

in this feeling of Catholic charity, to which his heart always inclined him.

His brother, who had been longer in acknowledging the want of efficient faith, attained it first. "I received," says Wesley, "the surprising news that he had found rest to his soul. His bodily strength (though it was just after a second return of pleurisy) returned also from that hour. Who is so great a God as our God!" He continued himself the three following days under a continual sense of sorrow and heaviness: — this was his language: — "Oh, why is it that so great, so wise, so holy a God will use such an instrument as me! Lord, let the dead bury their dead! But wilt thou send the dead to raise the dead? Yea, thou sendest whom thou *wilt* send, and showest mercy by whom thou *wilt* show mercy, Amen; Be it then according to thy will! If thou speak the word, Judas shall cast out devils." And again he thus expressed himself. "I feel that I am *sold under sin.* I know that I deserve nothing but wrath, being full of all abominations. All my works, my righteousness, my prayers, need an atonement for themselves. I have nothing to plead. — God is holy, I am unholy. — God is a consuming fire, I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed. — Yet I hear a voice, — Believe, and thou shalt be saved. He that believeth is passed from death unto life. — Oh, let no one deceive us by vain words as if we had already attained this faith! By its fruits we shall know. — Saviour of men, save us from trusting in any thing but Thee!

Draw us after thee!—Let us be emptied of ourselves, and then fill us with all peace and joy in believing, and let nothing separate us from thy love in time or eternity." This was his state till Wednesday May 24th, a remarkable day in the history of Methodism, for upon that day he dates his conversion,—a point, say his official biographers, of the utmost magnitude, not only with respect to himself but to others.

On the evening of that day he went very unwillingly to a Society in Aldersgate Street, where one of the assembly was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans.—What followed is considered by his disciples as being of deep importance; it may therefore best be given in his own words: "About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed; I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation: and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death. I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, This cannot be faith, for where is thy joy?"—How many a thought arising from that instinctive logic which is grounded on common sense, has been fathered upon the personified principle of evil! Here was a plain contradiction in terms,—an assur-

ance which had not assured him. He returned home and was buffetted with temptations; he cried out and they fled away; they returned again and again. "I as often lifted up my eyes," he says, "and He sent me help from his holy place. And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace: but then I was sometimes, if not often conquered; now I was always conqueror."

Before Samuel Wesley removed to Tiverton, his house in Dean's Yard had been a home for John and Charles whenever they went to London. After his removal, a family of the name of Hutton, who were much attached to him, desired that his brothers would make the same use of their house, and accordingly Charles went there on his return from Georgia, and John also. When, however, they were proceeding fast toward the delirious stage of enthusiasm, Charles chose to take up his quarters with a poor brazier in Little Britain, that the brazier might help him forward in his conversion. A few days after John also had been converted, as he termed it, when Mr. Hutton had finished a sermon, which he was reading on a Sunday evening to his family and his guests, John stood up, and to their utter astonishment assured them that he had never been a Christian till within the last five days; that he was perfectly certain of this, and that the only way for them to become Christians was to believe and confess that they were not so now. Hutton, who was exceedingly

surprised at such a speech, only replied, "Have a care, Mr. Wesley, how you despise the benefits received by the two sacraments!" — But when he repeated the assertion at supper, in Mrs. Hutton's presence, she made answer with female readiness, "If you were not a Christian ever since I knew you, you was a great hypocrite, for you made us all believe you were one." He replied, "that when we had renounced every thing but faith, and then got into Christ, then and not till then had we any reason to believe we were Christians." Mr. Hutton asked him, "If faith only was necessary to save us, why did our Saviour give us his divine sermon on the mount?" But Wesley answered, "that was the *letter that killeth.*" "Hold," said his antagonist, "you seem not to know what you say: are our Lord's words the letter that killeth!"

But it would have been as easy to cure a fever by reasoning with the patient, as to have made Wesley at this time doubt the soundness of his new opinions. He had just been abridging the life of Mr. Haliburton: "My son," says Mrs. Hutton in a letter to Samuel Wesley, "designed to print it, to show the experience of that holy man of in-dwelling, &c. Mr. Hutton and I have forbidden him to be concerned in handing such books into the world; but if your brother John or Charles think it will tend to promote God's glory they will soon convince my son that God's glory is to be preferred to his parents' commands. It was a very great affliction to them," she said, "to see their two children drawn into these wild notions

by their great opinion of Mr. John's sanctity and judgment; she supposed that Mr. John was about to visit his brother at Tiverton; and if his brother could then either confine or convert him, it would be a great charity to many other honest, well-meaning simple souls, as well as to her children. When he knew his behaviour, he certainly would not think him "a quite right man;" and unless some stop could be put to his extravagance in exhorting people to disregard all teaching but by such a spirit as came in dreams to some, and in visions to others, the mischief which he would do wherever he went, among ignorant but well-meaning Christians, would be very great. She described her son as good humoured, very undesigning, and sincerely honest; but of weak judgment, and so fitted for any delusion. He had been ill of a fever, and so many of these fancied saints gathered about him, that she expected his weak brain would have been quite turned.

To this letter, which represented a real and by no means a light affliction, Samuel Wesley returned such an answer as might have been expected from a good and religious man of sound judgment. "Falling into enthusiasm," said he, "is being lost with a witness; and if you are troubled for two of your children, you may be sure I am so, for two whom I may in some sense call *mine* *, who if once

* Mrs. Hutton says in one of her letters, "your brothers are much more obligated to you than many children are to their parents; you doing for them as a most kind and judicious parent, when you had not the same obligation." — It seems probable that both John and Charles were beholden to him for the means of their education.

turned that way will do a world of mischief, much more than even otherwise they would have done good, since men are much easier to be led into evil than from it. — What Jack means by his not being a Christian till last month, I understand not. Had he never been in covenant with God? — 'then,' as Mr. Hutton observed, 'baptism was nothing.' Had he totally apostatized from it? — I dare say not: and yet he must either be unbaptized, or an apostate, to make his words true. Perhaps it might come into his crown, that he was in a state of mortal sin unrepented of, and had long lived in such a course. This I do not believe; however he must answer for himself. But where is the sense of requiring every body else to confess that of themselves, in order to commence Christians? Must they confess it whether it be so or no? Besides a sinful course is not an abolition of the covenant; for that very reason because it is a breach of it. If it *were* not, it would *not* be *broken*.

"Renouncing every thing but faith, may be every evil, as the world, the flesh, and the devil: this is a very orthodox sense, but no great discovery. It may mean rejecting all merit of our own good works. What Protestant does not do so? Even Bellarmine on his death-bed is said to have renounced all merits but those of Christ. If this renouncing regards good works in any other sense, as being unnecessary, or the like, it is wretchedly wicked; and to call our Saviour's words *the letter that killeth*, is no less than blasphemy against the

Son of Man. It is mere Quakerism, making the outward Christ an enemy to the Christ within."

Having then noticed some ravings which Mrs. Hutton had repeated to him, and which, he said, looked like downright madness, he says, "I do not hold it at all unlikely, that perpetual intenseness of thought, and want of sleep, may have disordered my brother. I have been told that the Quakers' introversion of thought has ended in madness: it is a studious stopping of every thought as fast as it arises, in order to receive the Spirit. I wish the canting fellows had never had any followers among us, who talk of in-dwellings, experiences, getting into Christ, &c. &c.; as I remember assurances used to make a great noise, which were carried to such a length, that (as far as nonsense can be understood) they rose to fruition; in utter defiance of Christian hope, since the question is unanswerable, What a man hath, why does he yet hope for? But I will believe none, without a miracle, who shall pretend to be rapt up into the third heaven. I hope your son," he continues, "does not think it as plainly revealed that he shall print an enthusiastic book, as it is that he shall obey his father and his mother. Suppose it were never so excellent, can that supersede your authority? God deliver us from visions that shall make the law of God vain! I pleased myself with the expectation of seeing Jack; but now that is over, and I am afraid of it. I know not where to direct to him, or where he is. — I heartily pray God to stop the progress of this lunacy."

Before this letter was written John had left England. After his new birth, he had continued about a fortnight in heaviness, because of manifold temptations, — in peace, but not in joy. A letter which he received perplexed him, because it maintained that "no doubting could consist with the least degree of true faith; that whoever at any time felt any doubt or fear, was not weak in faith, but had no faith at all; and that none had any faith till the law of the spirit of life had made him wholly free from the law of sin and death." Begging God to direct him, he opened his Testament, and his eye fell upon that passage where St. Paul speaks of babes in Christ, who were not able to bear strong meat, yet he says to them, "Ye are God's building, ye are the temple of God." Surely then, he reasoned, these men had some degree of faith, though it is plain their faith was but weak. His mind, however, could not bear to be thus sawn asunder, as he calls it; and he determined to visit the Moravians at Herrnhut, in the hope that "conversing with those holy men, who were themselves living witnesses of the full power of faith, and yet able to bear with those that are weak, would be a means of so establishing his soul, that he might go on from faith to faith, and from strength to strength."

CHAPTER V.

THE MORAVIANS. — WESLEY IN GERMANY.

FEW religious communities may look back upon their history with so much satisfaction as the United Brethren. In the ninth century Christianity was introduced into Bohemia, from Greece. When Bohemia was united to the empire by Otho I., the people were brought under the yoke of Rome, and compelled to receive a liturgy which they did not understand. Their first king, Wratislas, remonstrated against this, and entreated the Pope that the church service might continue to be performed in the language * of the country. The Pope replied, "Dear son, know that we can by no means grant your request; for having frequently searched the Holy Scriptures, we have there discovered, that it has pleased, and still pleases,

* The Bohemians pleaded a miracle in support of the privilege which they claimed of having divine service performed in their own tongue. They had requested permission from Pope Nicholas, through the first preachers of Christianity in that country, Methodius and Cyrillus, who undertook the commission without the slightest hope of succeeding in it, — indeed in the expectation that they should subject themselves to the scorn of the Sacred College. But when the matter was propounded in that College, a voice was heard, saying, "*Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur eum.*" And the Pope, says the legend, in obedience to the text which was thus divinely quoted, acceded to the petition of the Bohemians.

Dubravius, p. 26.

Almighty God, to direct his worship to be conducted in hidden language, that not every one, especially the simple, might understand it. For if it were performed in a manner altogether intelligible, it might easily be exposed to contempt; or if imperfectly understood by half-learned persons, it might happen that by hearing and contemplating the word too frequently, errors might be engendered in the hearts of the people, which would not be easily eradicated. Therefore what your people ignorantly require, can in no wise be conceded to them; and we now forbid it by the power of God and his holy Apostle Peter." The Papacy prevailed, because it was supported by the secular power; but many still retained the custom of their fathers; and when some of the Waldenses sought refuge from persecution in Bohemia, they found people who, if not in fellowship with them, were disposed to receive their doctrines. The ground was thus ready for the seed when Wickliffe's writings were introduced: those writings produced a more immediate effect * there than they did in England; and Bohemia gave to reformed religion, in Huss the first, and in Jerome the most illustrious of its martyrs.

* Their knowledge of the Scripture was one of the causes which their enemies assigned for their heresy. *Tertia causa est, quia Novum Testamentum et Vetus vulgariter transtulerunt, et sic docent et discunt. Vidi et audivi rusticum idiotam, qui Iob recitavit de verbo ad verbum, et plures alios qui Novum Testamentum totum sciverunt perfecte.* But, according to this writer's account, they made some extraordinary blunders in their translation. In the first chapter of St. John, for instance, he says, *sui*, id est porci, *eum non receperunt; sui* dicentes, *id est sues.* This is not credible upon such testimony.

De Waldensibus, apud Scriptores rerum Bohemicarum, p. 222.

The story of the religious war which ensued ought to be written in a popular form, and read in all countries: no portion of history exemplifies more strikingly the impolicy of persecution, the madness of fanaticism, and the crimes and the consequences of anarchy. And these aweful lessons would be rendered more impressive, by the heroic circumstances with which they are connected; for greater intrepidity was never displayed than by those peasants, who encountered armed enemies with no better weapons than their flails; and the modern science of fortification may be traced to that general who, after he had lost his only eye in battle, continued to lead his devoted troops to victory; and who, with his dying breath, ordered that a drum should be made of his skin: "the sound of it," he said, "would put the Germans to flight." This struggle for reformation was made too soon; that under the Elector Palatine too late. His feeble attempt at maintaining the kingdom to which he was elected, ended in the loss of his hereditary dominions: his paternal palace, which for beauty of structure and situation has rarely been equalled, was destroyed, and at this day it is, perhaps, the most impressive of all modern ruins: his family became wanderers, but his grandson succeeded to the British throne, and that succession secured the civil and religious liberties of Britain. Bohemia paid dearly for this final struggle; her best blood was shed by the executioner, and her freedom was extinguished.

The persecution that followed was deliberately planned and effected. The Protestant clergy were banished, first from Prague, and what till now had been the free cities, — soon from the whole kingdom. After a short interval, the nobles of the same persuasion were subjected to the same sentence, and their estates confiscated. The common people were forbidden to follow, for the law regarded them as belonging to the soil. Among the exiled preachers was John Amos Comenius, once well known in schools by his *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, notorious in his day for accrediting the dreams of certain crazy enthusiasts, but most to be remembered for the part which he bore in the history of the Moravian church. He being harboured by a noble, continued to visit his congregation at Fulnek *, till the nobles were banished; then taking with him a part of his flock, he emigrated through Silesia into Poland. When they reached the mountains on the confines, he looked back upon his country, which he was about to leave for ever; and falling on his knees, his companions kneeling and weeping with him, he prayed that God would not utterly remove his gospel from Bohemia, but still reserve to himself a seed. A hundred years afterwards that prayer was inscribed within the ball of the Bohemian church-steeple at

* The inhabitants of this little town still speak of him as the last minister of the Picards, and as a wise and learned man. A hospital has been erected on the scite of the house in which he used to preach, but it is still called *Zbor*, the Assembly, or the Meeting-House.

Cranz's History of the Brethren, translated by Latrobe, p. 93.

Berlin, when it was regarded as a prophecy that had been accomplished.

At a synod held at Lissa in 1632, Comenius was consecrated Bishop of the dispersed Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia. During the thirty years' war he lived in a state of high excitement and turbulent hope, till disappointment and age brought with them more wisdom, and a more contented reliance upon Providence. He then found a melancholy consolation in recording the history and discipline of a church, which he believed would die with him; and he dedicated this book as his last will and testament, and as a precious legacy to the Church of England, to use it according to their own pleasure, and preserve it as a deposit for the posterity of the Brethren. "You," said he, "have just cause indeed to love her, even when dead, who, whilst yet living, went before you in her good examples of faith and patience. God himself, when he took away and laid waste his people's land, city, temple, because of their unthankfulness for his blessings, He would still have the basis of the altar to be left in its place, upon which, after ages, when they should be returned to themselves and to God, they might build again. If, then, by the grace of God, there have been found in us (as wise men and godly have sometimes thought) any thing true, any thing honourable, any thing just, any thing pure, any thing to be loved and of good report, and if any virtue and any praise, care must be taken that it may not die with us when we die; and at least, that the very

foundations be not buried in the rubbish of present ruins, so that the generations to come should not be able to tell where to find them. And indeed this care is taken, and provision is made on this behalf, by this our trust entrusted in your hands."

Comenius comforted himself by thinking that, in consequence of the events which he had lived to witness, the gospel would pass away from Christendom to other nations, "that so, as it was long ago, our stumbling might be the enriching of the world, and our diminishing the riches of the Gentiles. The consideration," said he, "of this so much-to-be-admired eternal Providence, doth gently allay the grief which I have taken by reason of the ruin of the church of my native country of the government of which (so long as she kept her station) the laws are here described and set forth in view; even myself, alas! being the very last superintendent of all, am fain, before your eyes, O Churches! to shut the door after me."

He was, however, induced, by the only other surviving Bishop of the Brethren, to assist in consecrating two successors, that the episcopal succession among them might not be broken: one of these was his son-in-law, Peter Figulus Jablonsky, who was consecrated for the Bohemian branch, *in spem contra spem*, in hope against all expectation, that that branch might be restored.

Before his banishment, Comenius had been minister of the little town of Fulnek, in the margravate of Moravia; there he was long remembered with veneration, and there, and in the surround-

ing village, the doctrines which he had so sedulously inculcated were cherished in secret. The Brethren, though compelled to an outward conformity with the Romish establishment, met together privately, preserved a kind of domestic discipline, and when the rinsing of the cup, which for a while had been allowed them, was withheld, they administered the communion among themselves: the magistrates knew these things, and sometimes interfered, and punished such infractions of the law as were complained of with fine and imprisonment; but the government had learnt wisdom and moderation from experience, and was averse from any violent persecution, relying upon length of time and worldly conveniences for producing a perfect conformity to the dominant church. From time to time such of the Brethren as could find means of removal fled from Bohemia and Moravia into the Protestant parts of Germany, and in this way a silent but considerable emigration took place, during the latter half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. One of these emigrants, by name Christian David, and by trade a carpenter, becoming zealous for the faith of his fathers, and the increase of true religion, endeavoured to procure a safe establishment for such of his brethren as might be desirous of following his example, and shaking the dust of their intolerant country from their feet, to settle in a land where they might enjoy their own form of worship. By his means application was made, through two

reformed clergymen, to Niklaas Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf.

Count Zinzendorf, then in the twenty-first year of his age, was a Saxon nobleman of great ardour and eccentricity. His mind had received a strong religious bias, from early education under his grandmother, and being then placed under the care of Professor Franke, the Pietist, at Halle, that good man inoculated with enthusiasm a more fiery disposition than his own. Already when a boy he had formed religious societies; already he had bound himself by a vow to labour for the conversion of the heathen, not in his own person, but by enabling others who should be well qualified thus to devote themselves. If his relations would have allowed him he would have entered into holy orders at this early age; and when prevented from this design, he purchased the lordship of Bertholdsdorf, in Lusatia, meaning there to pass his life in retirement. He was, however, induced by his grandmother to accept an office in the Saxon government. To this personage Christian David's application was made known: he replied, that the emigrants might come when they pleased, he would endeavour to provide for them a place where they should not be molested; and meantime would receive them at Bertholdsdorf. Accordingly ten persons from the village of Sehlen, in Moravia, set off for this asylum under Christian David's guidance. On their arrival it was thought better that they should settle in some spot by themselves than in

the village, and the Count's major-domo, a man who took a religious interest in their behalf, led them to a place where it was intended they should build. It was a piece of ground near a hill called the Hutberg, or Watch-Hill, on the high road to Zittau: the scite had little to recommend it; it was overgrown with brakes and brambles; it was boggy, so that waggons frequently stuck fast there; and there was a want of water. Heitz, the major-domo, had gone there twice before sunrise, to observe the rising of the vapours, and infer from thence in what part a well might be dug with most likelihood of success; and on these occasions he had prayed fervently, that the measures for the benefit of these poor fugitives might be successful, and had resolved that he would build the first house in the name of the Lord. When they came to the ground, one of the women objected to it, and asked where they were to get water in that wilderness:—they would rather have settled in the village: Christian David, however, saw what conveniences there were for building on the spot, and striking his axe into one of the trees, exclaimed, "Here hath the sparrow found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts!" So they began their work without assistance, but cheerfully and full of hope.

The Count's grand-mother Lady Gersdorf, who resided near at Hennersdorf, sent them a cow, that the children might not want milk. The first tree was felled on the 17th of June 1722, and on the 7th of October they entered their first house. "May

God bless the work," — said the major-domo, in the report which he transmitted to his master, — "according to his loving kindness, and grant that Your Excellency may build a city on the Watch-Hill, (*Hutberg,*) which may not only stand under the Lord's guardianship, but where all the inhabitants may stand upon the watch of the Lord!" (*Herrn Hut.*) In allusion also to the name of the ground, he preached at the dedication of the house upon this text from Isaiah: "I will set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem! which shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence, and give him no rest till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth." From these circumstances the settlement which was thus formed obtained the well known name of Herrnhut, the watch of the Lord.

Zinzendorf meantime took little thought of these transactions, for he was engaged in wooing and wedding the Countess Erdmuth Dorothea Reuss. At the close of the year, as he was taking his lady to Hennersdorf, he saw from the road equally to his surprize and satisfaction a house in the wood, upon which he stopt, went in to bid the Moravians welcome, and fell on his knees with them and prayed. Shortly afterwards he took possession of the mansion which had been built for him at Bertholdsdorf. Here he collected round him a knot of religious friends, among others Baron Frederic de Watteville, his fellow-student under Professor Franke, and who like himself had imbibed the spirit of Pietism from their tutor. The lady

Joanna de Zetzschwitz also came there, whom the Baron afterwards married:—she brought some girls to be educated under her care, and thus laid the foundation of what was subsequently called the Economy of Girls at Herrnhut. The kinsmen of the Moravian emigrants were questioned by their lords the Jesuits of Olmutz concerning the flight of their relations, and having undergone some imprisonment on that account, and being threatened with the inquisition because, after their release, they had requested leave to emigrate also, they thought it best to abandon their possessions, and fly to the same place of refuge. The settlers at Herrnhut found themselves so comfortably established, that some of them went back to bring away their friends and relations; this gave occasion to severities on the part of the government; and the Count at length thought it advisable to go into Moravia himself, and explain to the Cardinal Bishop of Olmutz that his intention had only been to grant an asylum on his estates to a few protestant families. He endeavoured to procure some indulgence for them in their own country: this he was told could not be done: it was added that they should not be prevented from emigrating * quietly,

* "Those," says Cranz, "who sought nothing but the salvation of their souls, and on that account forsook their possessions, parents or children, friends and relations, were favoured with such success, that they were often able to free themselves from their chains in a wonderful manner, to leap from an high prison without hurt, to pass through the guards undiscovered in the open day, or to run away and hide themselves from them. Were they stopped on the road, the upright representation of the true end of their emigrating, and the piteous cries of their children had such an effect, that they were suffered to pass.

but that such as returned to instigate others to remove must take the consequence. This was a wise and humane policy scarcely to have been expected from an Austrian government at that time.

All emigrants, however, were not indiscriminately received: they were examined respecting the manner in which they had left their own country, and their answers were carefully minuted that legal evidence might be given if it were required concerning their reception; and if after awhile it appeared that any person had removed for any other than a religious motive, he was furnished with money for his journey and sent back. The first discussions concerning discipline were occasioned by five young and ardent men, who fled from Moravia, before the connivance of the government was understood, and set out singing the same hymn which their predecessors had sung when they abandoned their country in a like manner, and for a like cause, an hundred years before them. One of them was that David Nitschmann whom Wesley afterwards found at Savannah. These brethren insisted that the economy of their fathers should be restored, and when the Count and the ministers at Herrnhut did not at once accede to their proposal, they were about more than once

---

But those who secretly disposed of their property, and took the money with them, or wanted to go off with loaded waggons, were frequently either betrayed, or when they had got half way on their journey, stopped, and brought back again, or plundered of their effects." P. 108. In a certain stage of enthusiasm, men are equally prone to expect miracles and to believe them.

to take up their staves and depart. Disputes concerning doctrine as well as discipline soon sprang up, and the evil passions by which dissension, schism, and the mutual hatred of religious factions are produced, seemed at one time likely to destroy the new settlement. Perhaps this is the only instance in ecclesiastical history wherein such disputes have been completely adjusted; and this event must be ascribed to the influence which Count Zinzendorf possessed as the patron and protector of the emigrants, at least as much as to his great talents and undoubted piety. The day upon which they all agreed to a constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, he ever afterwards called the critical day, because it was then decided "whether Herrnhut should prove a nest of sects, or a living congregation of Christ." It was, however, subsequently taken into consideration more than once, whether they should lay aside their peculiar discipline for the sake of avoiding evil reports; Count Zinzendorf himself inclined at one time to this concession, and thought it better that they should be entirely embodied in the Lutheran church, with which they professed a perfect conformity in doctrine: the brethren, who were then between 5 and 600 in number, regarded the discipline as the precious inheritance which had been left them by their fathers, but they consented to let the question be decided by lot, in full confidence that the decision would be directed by immediate Providence. Two verses therefore from St. Paul were written on separate papers. The

first was in support of Count Zinzerdorf's motion: "To them that are without law, be ye as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law in Christ,) that ye may gain them that are without law." * The text of the second lot was this, "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught." † The trial was preceded by fervent prayer: a child of four years old drew the second lot; and they "entered from that day (in their own words) into a covenant with each other, to remain upon this footing, and in this constitution to carry on the work of the Lord, and to preach his gospel in all the world, and among all nations whithersoever he should be pleased to send and scatter them abroad."

By this time the establishment at Herrnhut had excited much curiosity in Germany. In one day above fifty letters were received soliciting information concerning it, and many visitors, among whom were persons of high rank, came to see things with their own eyes. The new community was attacked also from various quarters. A Jesuit began the war, and there were Lutheran divines who entered into it upon the same side. Count Zinzendorf was too wise to engage in controversy himself. "The world hates me," said he; "that is but natural: some of my mother's children are angry with me; this is grievous. The former is not of sufficient importance to me that I should lose my time with it, and the others are too important to me, to put them to shame by an answer."

* 1 Cor. ix. 21. † 2 Thess. ii. 15.

But although his own conduct was more uniformly discreet than that of any other founder of a Christian community, (it would be wronging the Moravian brethren to designate them as a sect,) he was involved in difficulties by the indiscretion of others, and the jealousy of the government under which he lived. He was therefore ordered to sell his estates, and afterwards banished. Against the first of these mandates he had provided by conveying his estates to his wife; and though he was soon permitted to return to his own country, yet as the brethren were only continuing in Saxony upon sufferance, it was judged advisable to enlarge themselves by establishing colonies in countries where the magistrates would not interfere with them, and no foreign prince would interfere with their protectors. When the Count resigned his estates, he devoted himself from that time wholly to the service of the Lord, and more especially among that congregation of exiles which God had committed to his care, and which he regarded as a parish destined to him from eternity. Having now resolved to enter into holy orders, he wished at once to obtain a rank in the reformed church, which might not, according to common opinion, appear derogatory to the royal order of Danebrog, wherewith the King of Denmark had invested him. There was in the duchy of Wurtemberg a convent of St. George, in the Black Forest, near the Brigach, which is one of the sources of the Danube: at the Reformation this convent had been made a bishopric, but having been destroyed by fire in

1684, it had not been rebuilt, and the prelacy had ceased. Count Zinzendorf proposed to the Duke if he would renew it in his favour, to restore the convent at his own expence, and found a theological seminary there as a prelate of the Wurtemberg church. But the Duke, who was a Roman Catholic, though the sovereign of a Protestant country, would do nothing which could give umbrage to those of his own persuasion.

It is seldom that a German of high birth enters into holy orders. Hitherto, perhaps, the Count had retained something of the pride of birth. Upon this repulse the last remains were subdued. Under the name of De Freydek, which, though, it was one of his titles, sufficiently disguised him, he went as private tutor into a merchant's family at Stralsund, that he might pass through the regular examination of the clergy in that character, as a candidate in divinity; and having preached and been approved in that city, he was ordained at Tubingen, resigning his Danish order, because he was not permitted to wear it in the pulpit. Missionaries were now sent abroad from Herrnhut, and colonies established in various parts of the Continent. Nitschmann was consecrated at Berlin by Jablonsky and his colleague, to be a bishop or senior of the Moravian Brethren, and in the ensuing year he and Jablonsky, in the same city, consecrated the Count. He had previously been in England to consult with Archbishop Potter whether or no there would be any objection on the part of the Church of England, to employing

the Brethren as their missionaries in Georgia. The reply of that learned and liberal prelate was, that the Moravian Brethren were an Apostolical and Episcopal Church, not sustaining any doctrines repugnant to the Church of England; that they, therefore, could not with propriety, nor ought to be hindered from preaching the Gospel to the heathen. And after the Count had been consecrated, the Archbishop addressed to him a letter.

The Count was still a banished man from Saxony, when Wesley with his old fellow-traveller Ingham, and six other companions of the same spirit (three of whom were Germans,) left England to visit the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut; in expectation that by communion with them his faith would be established. They landed at Rotterdam and proceeded to Ysselstein; by desire of the Princess Dowager of Orange, a colony had been established here on her barony, as a convenient station where they who were about to embark for foreign missions might prepare for the voyage. Baron de Watteville was residing here, and here Wesley found some of his English acquaintance domesticated, and passed a day with the community in religious exercises, and in "hearing from them," he says, "the wonderful work which God was beginning to work over all the earth." They travelled on foot to Cologne, went up the Rhine to Mentz, and were received at Frankfort by Peter Boehler's father. The next day they reached Marienborn, where Zinzendorf had a family of disciples, consisting of about fifty persons, gathered out of many nations. "And

here," says Wesley, "I continually met with what I sought for,—living proofs of the power of faith; persons saved from inward as well as outward sin, by the love of God shed abroad in their hearts; and from all doubt and fear, by the abiding witness of the Holy Ghost given unto them."

Here he collected the opinions of the Count upon those peculiar points of doctrine in which he was most interested: they were fully delivered in a conference for strangers; and in reply to the question, Can a man be justified and not know it? and they were to this effect: 1. Justification is the forgiveness of sins. 2. The moment a man flies to Christ, he is justified; 3. and has peace with God, but not always joy; 4. nor perhaps may he know he is justified till long after; 5. for the assurance of it is distinct from justification itself. 6. But others may know he is justified, by his power over sin, by his seriousness, his love of the brethren, and his hunger and thirst after righteousness, which alone proves the spiritual life to be begun. 7. To be justified is the same thing as to be born of God:—here Wesley remarks, no; this is a mistake. Lastly, 8. When a man is awakened he is begotten of God, and his fear and sorrow, and sense of the wrath of God, are the pangs of the new birth." These were not the tenets which Wesley had learnt from Peter Boehler, who seems more than any other man to have possessed, at one time, a commanding influence over the English aspirant. He taught thus: 1. When a man has a living faith in Christ, then he is justi-

fied; 2. this living faith is always given in a moment; 3. and in that moment he has peace with God; 4. which he cannot have without knowing that he has it; 5. and being born of God he sinneth not; 6. and he cannot have this deliverance from sin without knowing that he has it.

Both statements Wesley noted in his journal, expressing no opinion upon either, though undoubtedly he agreed with Boehler. Of the Count he says little: Zinzendorf and Wesley had admired and loved each other at a distance, but their friendship was not likely to be improved by nearer intercourse. The Count stood in the double relation of Prophet and Patron to the Moravians. He was still the German Baron; and in a country where feudal pride had abated nothing of its pretensions, his rank and power unavoidably, though perhaps unwittingly, increased and confirmed his authority over a people who stood in need of his protection, and had been bred up, many of them in vassalage, and all in conscious inferiority. Watteville the only member of the Moravian church who was his equal in rank, acknowledged the ascendancy of his talents, and he lived in a spiritual empire within which his discourses and writings were received as oracles, and his influence was supreme. Wesley came to visit him with impressions altogether favourable; he had submitted himself almost as a disciple to Boehler, and had still the feelings of a disciple rather than a teacher when he reached Marienborn. Yet, though in this state of mind he would be little disposed to provoke controversy,

and certainly had no desire to detect errors among a people whom he hoped to find as perfect as he had fancied them to be, Zinzendorf must sometimes have felt the edge of his keen logic. No man in the character of a religious enquirer, had ever before approached him upon a footing of fair equality; and from the mere novelty of this circumstance, if not from instinctive jealousy, or natural penetration, he was likely soon to perceive that Wesley was not a man who would be contented with holding a secondary place. They certainly parted with a less favourable * opinion of each other, than each had entertained before the meeting.

But the community appeared to Wesley such as his ardent imagination had prefigured them, and under this impression he wrote of them from Marienborn to his brother Samuel. "God," said he, "has given me, at length, the desire of my heart. I am with a church whose conversation is in Heaven, in whom is the mind that was in Christ, and who so walk as he walked. As they have all one Lord and one faith, so they are all

* Mr. Hampson in his life of Wesley relates, that the Count who regarded him as a pupil, ordered him one day to dig in the garden. "When Mr. Wesley had been there some time, working in his shirt, and in a high perspiration, he called upon him to get into a carriage that was in waiting, to pay a visit to a German Count; nor would he suffer him either to wash his hands, or to put on his coat. 'You must be simple, my brother!' was a full answer to all his remonstrances; and away he went like a crazed man *in statu quo*." Mr. Hampson adds, that he has no doubt of the authenticity of this anecdote: but it is not likely that Zinzendorf who had been in England should have exacted this proof of docility from an English clergyman, nor that Wesley should have submitted to it. Similar, but more extravagant tales are common in monastic history.

partakers of one spirit, the spirit of meekness and love, which uniformly and continually animates all their conversation. Oh! how high and holy a thing Christianity is! and how widely distant from that, I know not what, which is so called, though it neither purifies the heart, nor renews the life, after the image of our blessed Redeemer. I grieve to think how that holy name by which we are called, must be blasphemed among the heathen, while they see discontented Christians, passionate Christians, resentful Christians, earthly-minded Christians. Yea, to come to what we are apt to count small things, while they see Christians judging one another, ridiculing one another, speaking evil of one another, increasing instead of bearing one another's burdens. How bitterly would Julian have applied to these, 'See how these Christians love one another!' I know I myself, I doubt *you* sometimes, and my sister often, have been under this condemnation."

He had intended to rest at Marienborn only for a day or two, but he remained a fortnight. As the travellers advanced in Germany they were grievously annoyed by municipal and military examinations, which were conducted with the most phlegmatic inhospitality. These senseless interruptions provoked Wesley, who had been accustomed to English liberty in his motions, and who was impatient of nothing so much as of loss of time. "I greatly wonder," said he, "that common sense and common humanity, (for these, doubtless, subsist in Germany as well as England,) do not put an end to this senseless, inhuman usage of strangers,

which we met with at almost every German city. I know nothing that can reasonably be said in its defence in a time of full peace, being a breach of all the common, even heathen laws of hospitality. If it be a custom, so much the worse, the more is the pity, and the more the shame!' They were sometimes carried about from one magistrate to another for more than two hours, before they were suffered to go to their inn. After a journey of eleven days from Marienborn they reached Herrnhut.

This place, the first and still the chief settlement of the Moravian Brethren, consisted at that time of about an hundred houses, built upon the great road from Zittau to Lobau. The brethren had chosen to build by the road-side, because they expected to find occasion for offering instruction to travellers as they might be passing by. The visitors were lodged in the house appointed for strangers. And here Wesley found one of his friends from Georgia, and had opportunities of observing and enquiring fully into the economy of this remarkable people, who without the restriction of a vow had submitted to a rule of life, as formal as that of a monastic order, and though in some respects less burthensome, in others not less fantastic. The sexes were divided each into five classes, the three first consisting of children according to their growth, the two others of the young, and of the married. The single men, and single women and widows dwelt in separate houses, but each in community. Two women kept a nightly watch in the

women's apartment, and two men in the street. They were expected to pray for those who slept, and to sing hymns which might excite feelings of devotion in those who were awake. There was an *Eldest* over each sex, and two inferior eldests, over the young men and the boys, and over the unmarried women and the girls. Besides this classification according to sex, age, and condition, each household was considered as a separate class and had its helper or deacon, its censor, its monitor, its almoner, and its servant or helper of the lowest order; in the female classes these offices were filled by women. The deacon or helper was to instruct them in their private assemblies; to take care that outward things were done decently and in order, and to see that every member grew in grace, and walked suitably to his holy calling. The censors were to observe the smallest things and report them either to the helpers or monitors, and the monitors might freely admonish even the rulers of the Church. And as if this system of continual inspection were not sufficient, there were secret monitors, besides those who were known to hold that office. They were sub-divided into bands, the members of which met together twice or thrice a week to confess their faults one to another, and pray for one another. Every band had its leader chosen as being a person of the most experience, and all these leaders met the superior Eldest every week, for the purpose of "laying open to him and to the Lord whatsoever hindered or furthered the

work of God in the souls committed to their charge."

There were four pastors or teachers as they were called, at Herrnhut, and these persons were regularly ordained. They were overseers of the whole flock, and were the only men, except the eldest and one or two of the helpers, who were allowed to converse with the women. The elders, and teachers, and helpers, held one weekly conference concerning the state of the souls under their care, another concerning the youth, and a daily one relating to the outward affairs of the church. The censors, monitors, almoners, attendants on the sick, servants, schoolmasters, young men, and even the children, had also their weekly conferences relating to their several offices and duties, and once a week there was a conference at which any person might be present, and propose any question or doubt. Public service was performed every morning and evening at eight o'clock: it consisted of singing, and expounding the Scriptures, with a short prayer, which in the evening was usually mental; and this latter service concluded with the kiss of peace. On Sunday, in addition to the daily service, and the regular church service at Bertholdsdorf, the superior eldest gave separate exhortations to all the members of the community, who were divided for that purpose into fourteen classes, spending about a quarter of an hour with each class. After the evening eight o'clock service, the young men went round the town singing hymns. On the first Saturday in the month the sacrament was adminis-

tered, and they washed each other's feet, the men and women apart; the second was a solemn prayer day for the children; the third was set apart for a general intercession and thanksgiving; the fourth was the monthly conference of all the superiors of the church. And a round of perpetual prayer through every hour of the day and night was kept up by married men and women, maids, bachelors, boys and girls, twenty-four of each, who volunteered to relieve each other in this endless service.

The children were prepared by their education for a life of such continual pupillage. They rose between five and six, prayed awhile in private, and worked till seven; an hour's schooling followed, and then the hour of public service. From nine till eleven they were at school, they were then indulged with an hour's walk: at twelve they dined altogether, and worked till one: from one till three writing or working were the order of the day, arithmetic at three, history at four: work again at five, supper at six, and more work till seven: a little prayer at seven, and a little walking till eight, when the younger children went to bed, and the larger to public service, and when this was done they were set again to work till bed-time, which was at ten. Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and English were taught. There were no holydays or relaxation of any kind, except the little time allowed for walking.

It is somewhat remarkable, that Wesley should have said nothing of their customs respecting matrimony. He took the account which they presented

to the Theological Faculty at Wittemberg, and appears not to have enquired farther. In this the Moravians say, "We highly reverence marriage, as greatly conducive to the kingdom of Christ: but neither our young men nor women enter into it till they assuredly know they are married to Christ. When any know it is the will of God, that they should change their state, both the man and woman are placed for a time with some married persons, who instruct them how to behave, so that their married life may be pleasing to God. Then their design is laid before the whole church, and after about fourteen days, they are solemnly joined though not otherwise habited than they are at other times. If they make any entertainment, they invite only a few intimate friends, by whose faithful admonitions they may be the better prepared to bear their cross, and fight the good fight of faith." This passage Wesley inserted in the second part of his journal, without any comment or farther explanation. The presumptuousness of a community which could thus expect that its individual members would certainly be informed, whether it was the will of God that they should marry, or remain in singleness, and the fanatical spirit in which this wild opinion is expressed, were too congruous to his own state of mind at that time to excite in him either surprize or disapprobation. There were, however, other circumstances connected with the subject, which it may seem extraordinary that he should not have noticed. The very account which he published, imperfect as it is,

exhibits in a manner sufficiently glaring one inconvenience arising from the unnatural separation * of

* This is carried so far, that in their burial-places there are "distinct squares for married men and unmarried, for married and unmarried women, for male and female children, and for widows." (Wesley's 2d Journal.) The same separation was observed in the burial-grounds of the Guarani Missions, and there also, as with the Moravians, "the church-yard was what a Christian place of burial should be, a sacred garden of the dead." I transcribe from the Periodical Accounts of the Moravian Missions, (Vol. iii. p. 35.) the description of that at Bavians Kloof, in the Cape-Colony. "As our burying-ground was nothing but a wild and rough looking field, divided from our garden by a small path, brother Rose undertook to make it look more decent. Having measured a square of an hundred and eighty feet, he divided it into nine compartments, with paths between them. As we have no stones here fit for grave stones, each grave is marked with a short post, upon which a board is fixed, with a number painted upon it, referring to a ground-plan which exhibits a catalogue of the deceased. A broad path leads in a strait line through our garden, into and through the burying-ground, — this path is inclosed by rows of trees, and the burying-ground is surrounded with a hedge of roses. All our Hottentots assisted with great willingness in completing this work, and are highly pleased with the regular and decent appearance of their future resting-place."

It is from what he has seen among the Moravians, that Montgomery has imagined his beautiful burying-place of the Patriarchs.

A scene sequestered from the haunts of men,
The loveliest nook of all that lovely glen,
Where weary pilgrims found their last repose.
The little heaps were ranged in comely rows
With walks between, by friends and kindred trod,
Who dress'd with duteous hands each hallowed sod.
No sculptured monument was taught to breathe
His praises whom the worm devoured beneath;
The high, the low, the mighty and the fair,
Equal in death, were undistinguished there,
Yet not a hillock mouldered near that spot,
By one dishonoured, or by all forgot;
To some warm heart the poorest dust was dear,
From some kind eye the meanest claim'd a tear.
And oft the living by affection led
Were wont to walk in spirit with their dead,
Where no dark cypress cast a doleful gloom,
No blighting yew shed poison o'er the tomb;

different sexes, ages, and conditions: men and women of marriageable years, were presumed to be so ignorant of the manners and duties of the married life, that they were "to be placed for a time with some married persons" for the purpose of instruction. This would be ludicrous if it were not pitiable. The system indeed of taking children from their parents, breaking up domestic society, and sorting human beings, like cabbage-plants, according to their growth, is not more consonant to nature than the Egyptian method of hatching eggs in ovens: a great proportion of the chickens are said to be produced with some deformity, and hens thus hatched bear a less price than those which have been reared in the natural way, because it often happens that they will not sit upon their eggs, — the course of instinct having been disturbed.

From this preposterous education, it followed necessarily that there could be little predilection between parties who had never seen each other in domestic life, and to whom indeed no opportunities of intercourse seem to have been afforded. In consequence therefore of this discipline, persons who were disposed to marry usually left the choice

---

But white and red with intermingling flowers
The graves looked beautiful in sun and showers.
Green myrtles fenced it, and beyond their bound
Ran the clear rill with ever-murmuring sound.
Twas not a scene for grief to nourish care,
It breathed of hope, and moved the heart to prayer.

World before the Flood. Canto 5.

to the elders*, and even in the rare cases where there happened to be a previous preference, the approbation of the elders was necessary, and frequently the parties were mated by lot. It is said that unhappy marriages were seldom known among them, and this might be expected; not from any wisdom in the arrangement, still less from any such interposition of Providence as that whereon it presumes, but from the rule under which they lived, and the continual inspection to which they were subjected; for except in the power of withdrawing from the community, there was as little personal liberty at Herrnhut as in a convent, and less than in a Jesuit Reduction.

'To this part of their discipline, and not to any depravity of manners, that fanatical language of the Moravians may be distinctly traced, which exposed them at one time to much obloquy, and which in any other age would most certainly have

* Wesley had submitted to this part of their discipline in Georgia. The origin, or if Cranz be accurate in so affirming, the revival of this preposterous practice, is ascribed to a sister who afterwards made a considerable figure in London as General Elderess. "Among the sisters," says their historian, (p. 126.) "out of whom elderesses of the congregation had been chosen since 1728, after the example of the ancient brethren's church, the choice fell this time (1730) by lot, upon Anna Nitschmann, whose youth was supplied by a rich measure of grace imparted to her, to be co-elderess of the congregation. She soon after, on the 4th of May, entered into a covenant with seventeen single women who were of the same mind with her, to devote themselves entirely to the Lord; and among other things, to give no attention to any thoughts or overtures of marriage, unless they were brought to them in the way of the ancient brethren's order, by the elders of the congregation. This covenant gave afterwards occasion to the single sisters celebrating, since 1745, every year, the 4th of May, as a memorial day, for a solemn renewal of their covenant."

drawn upon them a fiery persecution, with every appearance of justice. Love in its ideal sense could have no more existence among such a people than among the Chinese, where a husband never sees the wife for whom he has bargained till she is sent home to him in a box. But when Count Zinzendorf and the founders of his Moravian Church had stript away the beautiful imaginative garment, they found it expedient to provide fig-leaves for naked nature; and madness never gave birth to combinations of more monstrous and blasphemous obscenity, than they did in their fantastic allegories and spiritualizations. In such freaks of perverted fancy, the abominations of the Phallus and the Lingam have unquestionably originated; and in some such * abominations Moravianism might have ended, had it been instituted among the Mingrelian or Malabar Christians, where there was no antiseptic influence of surrounding circumstances to preserve it from putrescence. Fortunately for themselves and for that part of the heathen world, among whom they have laboured, and still are labouring with exemplary devotion, the Moravians were taught by their assailants to correct this perilous error in time. They were an innocent people, and could therefore with serenity oppose the testimony of their lives to the tremendous charges which upon the authority of their own writings

* The reader who may have perused Rimius's Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters, and the Responsorial Letters of the Theological Faculty of Tubingen, annexed to it, will not think this language too strong.

were brought against them. And then first seeing the offensiveness, if not the danger of the loathsome and impious extravagancies into which they had been betrayed, they corrected their books and their language; and from that time they have continued not merely to live without reproach, but to enjoy in a greater degree than any other sect, the general good opinion of every other religious community.

This beneficial change was not effected till several years after Wesley's visit to Herrnhut. He was not sufficiently conversant with the German language to discover the offence, and perhaps for the same reason remained ignorant of certain whimsical opinions, which might entitle Count Zinzendorf to a conspicuous place in the history of heresy. During his stay there Christian David arrived. Wesley had heard much of this extraordinary man, and was prepared to expect great benefit from his conversation. When he mentions his arrival in the Journal he adds, "Oh may God make him a messenger of glad tidings!" "Four times," he says, "I enjoyed the blessing of hearing him preach, and every time he chose the very subject which I should have desired had I spoken to him before." This was his doctrine concerning the ground of faith. "You must be humbled before God; you must have a broken and contrite heart. But observe, this is not the foundation! It is not this by which you are justified. This is not the righteousness, it is no part of the righteousness by which you are reconciled unto God. This is

nothing to your justification. The remission of your sins is not owing to this cause, either in whole or in part. Nay, it may hinder justification if you build any thing upon it. To think you must be more contrite, more humble, more grieved, more sensible of the weight of sin before you can be justified, is to lay your contrition, your grief, your humiliation for the foundation of your being justified, at least for a part of it. Therefore it hinders your justification, and a hindrance it is which must be removed. The right foundation is not *your* contrition, (though that is not your *own*,) not *your* righteousness, nothing of *your own*: nothing that is wrought *in you* by the Holy Ghost; but it is something *without you*, — the righteousness and the blood of Christ. For this is the word, 'to him that believeth on God that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.' This then do if you would lay a right foundation. Go straight to Christ with all your ungodliness; tell him, Thou whose eyes are as a flame of fire searching my heart, seest that I am ungodly! I plead nothing else. I do not say I am humble or contrite; but I am ungodly! Therefore bring me to him that justifieth the ungodly! Let thy blood be the propitiation for me! — Here is a mystery, here the wise men of the world are lost: it is foolishness unto them. Sin is the only thing which divides men from God, sin (let him that heareth understand) is the only thing which unites them to God, — for it is the only thing which moves the Lamb of God to have compassion upon them, and by his blood to

give them access to the Father. This is the word of reconciliation which we preach: this is the foundation which never can be moved."

Wesley, who wrote down the substance of this discourse, did not perhaps immediately perceive how easily this doctrine might be most mischievously abused; but he saw at once with what forcible effect it might be preached, and it will be seen how well he profited by the lesson. He heard also from Christian David and from other of the Brethren, accounts of what is called their experience, — the state of feeling and conflicts of thought through which they had passed before they attained a settled religious peace. This full assurance, or plerophory of faith, as it is termed by Wesley, was defined to him by Arvid Gradin, a Swede. "I had," said the Swede, "from our Lord what I asked of him, the πληροφορια πιστεως, the fulness of faith, which is repose * in the blood of Christ: a firm confidence in God and persuasion of his favour, with a deliverance from every fleshly desire, and a cessation of all, even inward sins. In a word my heart which before was agitated like a troubled sea, was in perfect quietness like the sea when it is serene and calm." "This," says Wesley, "was the first account I ever heard from any living man, of what I had before learned myself from the oracles

* "*Requies in sanguine Christi; firma fiducia in Deum, et persuasio de gratiâ divinâ; tranquillitas mentis summa, atque serenitas et pax; cum absentiâ omnis desiderii carnalis, et cessatione peccatorum etiam internorum. Verbo, cor quod antea instar maris turbulenti agitabatur, in summâ fuit requie, instar maris sereni et tranquilli.*"

of God, and had been praying for, with the little company of my friends, and expecting for several years."

"I would gladly," he says, "have spent my life here: but my master calling me to labour in another part of his vineyard, I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place." After a fortnight's tarriance, therefore, he departed on foot as he came, and returned to England.

CHAPTER VI.

WESLEY IN LONDON. — WHITEFIELD RETURNS TO ENGLAND. — WHITEFIELD AT BRISTOL.

CHARLES WESLEY had not known his brother's intention of visiting Herrnhut till he had set out for Germany. He was not sufficiently recovered to have accompanied him, but he kept up, during his absence, the impression which had been produced, and John found, upon his return, that the society which now met together consisted of thirty-two persons. His presence, however, was required; "for though," says he, "a great door had been opened, the adversaries had laid so many stumbling blocks before it, that the weak were daily turned out of the way. Numberless misunderstandings had arisen, by means of which the way of truth was much blasphemed; and thence had sprung anger, clamour, bitterness, evil-speaking, envyings, strifes, railings, evil surmises, whereby the enemy had gained such an advantage over the little flock, that of the rest durst no man join himself to them." Nor was this all, — a dispute arose concerning predestination, the most mischievous question by which human presumption has ever been led astray. This matter was

laid to rest for the present, and a few weeks after his return, Wesley had eight bands of men and two of women under his spiritual direction.

He informed his German friends of the state of things in an epistle with the superscription, "To the Church of God which is in Herrnhut, John Wesley, an unworthy Presbyter of the Church of God which is in England, wisheth all grace and peace in our Lord Jesus Christ." The style of this epistle corresponded to the introduction. It began thus: "Glory be to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for his unspeakable gift! for giving me to be an eye witness of your faith and love, and holy conversation in Christ Jesus. I have borne testimony thereof, with all plainness of speech, in many parts of Germany, and thanks have been given to God, by many, on your behalf. We are endeavouring here also, by the grace which is given us, to be followers of you, as ye are of Christ." He wrote also to Count Zinzendorf. "May our gracious Lord, who counteth whatsoever is done to the least of his brethren as done to himself, return seven-fold to you and thē Countess, and to all the brethren, the kindness you did to us. It would have been great satisfaction to me, if I could have spent more time with the Christians who love one another. But that could not be now, my Master having called me to work in another part of his vineyard. I hope," he added, "if God permit, to see them at least once more, were it only to give them the fruit of my love, the

speaking freely on a few things which I did not approve, perhaps because I did not understand them."

Count Zinzendorf would not have been very well pleased if he had known that one of the things which Wesley disapproved was the supremacy which he exercised over the Moravians. For Wesley, immediately upon his return, had begun a letter to the Moravian Church, in a very different strain from the epistle which he afterwards substituted for it. Instead of a grave and solemn superscription, it began with, "My dear Brethren;" and after saying that he greatly approved of their conferences and bands, their method of instructing children, and their great care of the souls committed to their charge, he proceeded to propose, "in love and meekness," doubts concerning certain parts of their conduct, which he wished them to answer plainly, and to consider well. "Do you not," he pursued, "wholly neglect joint fasting? Is not the Count all in all? Are not the rest mere shadows, calling him Rabbi; almost implicitly both believing and obeying him? Is there not something of levity in your behaviour? Are you in general serious enough? Are you zealous and watchful to redeem time? Do you not sometimes fall into trifling conversation? Do you not magnify your own church too much? Do you believe any who are not of it to be in gospel liberty? Are you not straitened in your love? Do you love your enemies and wicked men as yourselves? Do you not mix human wisdom with divine, joining

worldly prudence with heavenly? Do you not use cunning, guile, or dissimulation in many cases? Are you not of a close, dark, reserved temper and behaviour? Is not the spirit of secrecy the spirit of your communion? Have you that child-like openness, frankness, and plainness of speech, so manifest to all in the Apostles and first Christians?"

Some of these queries savour of supererogatory righteousness, and as they contain no allusion either to the wild heretical fancies which are deducible from Count Zinzendorf's writings, nor to his execrable language, it is evident that Wesley must have been ignorant of both. He saw much to disapprove in the Moravians, but he says, that being fearful of trusting his own judgement, he determined to wait yet a little longer. Indeed he thought that whatever might be the errors of the United Brethren, the good greatly preponderated; and therein he judged of them more truly, as well as more charitably, than when he afterwards separated from them.

How he judged of himself at this time appears by the result of a curious self-examination, in which he tried himself by the test of St. Paul: "*If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature. Old things are past away. Behold all things are become new.*" "First," says Wesley, "his judgements are new; his judgement of himself, of happiness, of holiness. He judges himself to be altogether fallen short of the glorious image of God; to have no good thing abiding in him, but all that is corrupt and abominable: in a word, to be wholly earthly, sensual,

and devilish, a motley mixture of beast and devil. Thus, by the grace of God in Christ, I judge of myself. Therefore I am in this respect a new creature.

"Again, his judgement concerning happiness is new. He would as soon expect to dig it out of the earth, as to find it in riches, honour, pleasure (so called), or indeed in the enjoyment of any creature. He knows there can be no happiness on earth, but in the enjoyment of God, and in the foretaste of those rivers of pleasure which flow at his right hand for evermore. Thus by the grace of God in Christ I judge of happiness. Therefore I am in this respect a new creature.

"Yet again, his judgement concerning holiness is new. He no longer judges it to be an outward thing; to consist either in doing no harm, in doing good, or in using the ordinances of God. He sees it is the life of God in the soul; the image of God fresh stamped on the heart; an entire renewal of the mind in every temper and thought, after the likeness of Him that created it. Thus, by the grace of God in Christ, I judge of holiness. Therefore I am in this respect a new creature.

"Secondly, his designs are new. It is the design of his life, not to heap up treasures upon earth, not to gain the praise of men, not to indulge the desires of the flesh, the desire of the eye, or the pride of life: but to regain the image of God, to have the life of God again planted in his soul, and to be renewed after his likeness in righteousness and all true holiness. This, by the grace of

God in Christ, is the design of my life. Therefore, I am in this respect a new creature.

"Thirdly, his desires are new, and indeed the whole train of his passions and inclinations; they are no longer fixed on earthly things; they are now set on the things of Heaven. His love and joy and hope, his sorrow and fear have all respect to things above: they all point heavenward. Where his treasure is, there is his heart also. — I dare not say I am a new creature in this respect, for other desires often arise in my heart: but they do not reign, I put them all under my feet through Christ which strengtheneth me; therefore, I believe that He is creating me anew in this also, and that He has begun, though not finished his work.

"Fourthly, his conversation is new. It is *always seasoned with salt, and fit to minister grace to the hearers.* So is mine, by the grace of God in Christ; therefore, I am in this respect a new creature.

"Fifthly, his actions are new. The tenor of his life singly points at the glory of God; all his substance and time are devoted thereto: *whether he eats or drinks, or whatever he does,* it either springs from, or leads to the love of God and man. Such, by the grace of God in Christ, is the tenor of my life; therefore, in this respect, I am a new creature.

"But St. Paul tells us elsewhere, that *the fruit of the Spirit is love, peace, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, temperance.* Now although, by the grace of God in Christ, I find a measure of some of these in myself, viz. of peace, long-suffer-

ing, gentleness, meekness, temperance; yet others I find not: I cannot find in myself the love of God, or of Christ; hence, my deadness and wanderings in public prayer; hence it is that even in the holy communion, I have rarely any more than a cold attention; hence, when I hear of the highest instance of God's love, my heart is still senseless and unaffected; yea, at this moment I feel no more love to Him than to one I had never heard of. Again, I have not that joy in the Holy Ghost, no settled, lasting joy; nor have I such a peace as excludes the possibility either of fear or doubt. When holy men have told me I had no faith, I have often doubted whether I had or no; and those doubts have made me very uneasy, till I was relieved by prayer and the Holy Scriptures. Yet upon the whole, although I have not yet that joy in the Holy Ghost, nor that love of God shed abroad in my heart, nor the full assurance of faith, nor the (proper) witness of the Spirit, with my spirit that I am a child of God, much less am I, in the full and proper sense of the words, in Christ a new creature; I nevertheless trust that I have a measure of faith, and am accepted in the Beloved: I trust the hand-writing that was against me is blotted out, and that I am reconciled to God through his Son."

This representation of his own state is evidently faithful; his Moravian friends did not, however, judge of it so favourably. Delamotte, whose less active and less ambitious spirit rested contentedly after he had joined the brethren, said to him,

"You are better than you was at Savannah. You know that you was then quite wrong; but you are not right yet. You know that you was then blind; but you do not see now. I doubt not but God will bring you to the right foundation; but I have no hope for you while you are on the present foundation; it is as different from the true, as the right hand from the left. You have all to begin anew. I have observed all your words and actions, and I see you are of the same spirit still: you have a simplicity, but it is a simplicity of your own; it is not the simplicity of Christ. You think you do not trust in your own works; but you do trust in your own works. You do not believe in Christ. You have a present freedom from sin; but it is only a temporary suspension of it, not a deliverance from it: and you have a peace, but it is not a true peace: if death were to approach, you would find all your fears return; but I am forbid to say any more; my heart sinks in me like a stone."

This censure lost nothing of its oracular solemnity by the manner in which it was concluded. Wesley was troubled by it, and had recourse to bibliomancy, which was then his favourite practice for comfort. He begged of God, he says, an answer of peace, and opened on these words: "*As many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy upon the Israel of God.*" A second trial gave him for a text *My hour is not yet come.* The opinion of ordinary men he despised; he triumphed over obloquy, and he was impenetrable to all reasoning which opposed his favourite tenets,

or censured any part of his conduct; but when one who entered into his feelings with kindred feeling, and agreed with him entirely in opinion, assumed towards him the language of reproof and commiseration, then he was disturbed, and those doubts came upon him again, which might have led him to distrust his enthusiastic doctrine of assurance. This disquietude which chance texts of Scripture might as easily have aggravated as allayed, was removed by the stimulants of action and opposition, and more especially by sympathy and success; for though he might easily err concerning the cause of the effects which he produced, it was impossible to doubt their reality, and in many cases their utility was as evident as their existence.

During his absence in Germany, Charles had prayed with some condemned * criminals in Newgate, and accompanied them, with two other clergymen, to Tyburn. In consequence of this, another party of poor creatures in the same dreadful situation implored the same assistance, and the two brothers wrought them into a state of mind not less happy than that of Socrates when he drank the hemlock. "It was the most glorious instance," says Wesley, "I ever saw, of faith triumphing over

* The Ordinary, on these occasions, made but a sorry figure. "He *would* read prayers," Charles Wesley says, "and he preached most miserably." When this poor man, who seems willing enough to have done his duty if he had known how, would have got upon the cart with the prisoners at the place of execution, they begged that he would not, and the mob kept him down. What kind of machine a Newgate Ordinary was in those days, may be seen in Fielding: the one who edifies Jonathan Wild with a sermon before the punch comes in, seems to have been drawn from the life.

sin and death." One of the sufferers was asked how he felt a few minutes only before the point of death, and he calmly answered, "I feel a peace which I could not have believed to be possible; and I know it is the peace of God, which passeth all understanding." Well might he be encouraged in his career by such proofs of his own power! Even frenzy was rebuked before him: in one of the workhouses which he visited, was a young woman raving mad, screaming and tormenting herself continually. His countenance, and manner, and voice, always impressive, and doubly so to one who had been little accustomed to looks of kindness and words of consolation, acted upon her as oil upon the waves; the moment that he began she was still, and while he encouraged her to seek relief in prayer, saying, "Jesus of Nazareth is able and willing to deliver you," the tears ran down her cheeks. "O where is faith upon earth?" he exclaims, when he relates this anecdote; "why are these poor wretches left under the open bondage of Satan? Jesus! Master! give thou medicine to heal their sickness; and deliver those who are now also vexed with unclean spirits!" Wesley always maintained that madness was frequently occasioned by demoniacal possession, and in this opinion he found many to encourage him. At this time his prayers were desired for a child who was "lunatic, and sore vexed day and night, that our Lord might be pleased to heal him, as he did those in the days of his flesh." While the apostolical character which he assumed was thus ac-

knowledged, and every day's experience made him more conscious of his own strength, opposition of any kind served only to make him hurry on in his career, as water when it is poured into a raging conflagration, augments the violence of the fire.

Gibson was at that time Bishop of London; he was of a mild and conciliating temper; a distinguished antiquary, a sound scholar, equally frugal and beneficent, perfectly tolerant as becomes a Christian, and conscientiously attached as becomes a Bishop to the doctrines and discipline of the Church in which he held so high and conspicuous a station. The two brothers waited upon him to justify their conduct; this seems to have been a voluntary measure on their part, and the conversation which took place, as far as it has been made public, reflects more credit upon the Bishop than upon them. With regard to that particular tenet which now notoriously characterized their preaching, the prelate said, "If by assurance you mean an inward persuasion, whereby a man is conscious in himself, after examining his life by the law of God and weighing his own sincerity, that he is in a state of salvation, and acceptable to God, I do not see how any good Christian can be without such an assurance." They made answer that they contended for this, and complained that they had been charged with Antinomianism because they preached justification by faith alone. But this was not the assurance for which they contended; they contended against it; and in

the place of that calm and settled reliance upon the goodness of Almighty God, which results from reason and revelation, and is the reward of a well spent life, they required an enthusiastic confidence as excessive as the outrageous self-condemnation by which it was to be preceded, and in which it was to have its root.

They spoke also upon the propriety of rebaptizing Dissenters: Wesley said that if any person dissatisfied with lay-baptism should desire episcopal, he should think it his duty to administer it: the Bishop said he was against it himself; and the interview ended with his telling them that they might have free access to him at all times. In the course of a few weeks Charles availed himself of this permission, and informed him that a woman had desired him to baptize her, not being satisfied with her baptism by a Dissenter; she said sure and unsure were not the same. The Bishop replied, that he wholly disapproved of it; and Charles Wesley made answer that he did not expect his approbation, but only came in obedience to give him notice of his intention. "It is irregular," said the Bishop, "I never receive any such information, but from the minister." — "My Lord, the Rubric does not so much as require the minister to give you notice, but any discreet person: I have the minister's leave." — "Who gave you authority to baptize?" — "Your Lordship," replied Charles, (for he had been ordained priest by him,) "and I shall exercise it in any part of the known world." — "Are you a licensed curate?" said the

Bishop, who began to feel justly offended at the tenor of this conversation; and Charles Wesley, who then perceived that he could no longer appeal to the letter of the law, replied he had the leave of the proper minister. — "But do you not know that no man can exercise parochial duty in London without my leave? It is only *sub silentio*." — "But you know many do take that permission for authority, and you yourself allow it." — "It is one thing to connive," said the Bishop, "and another to approve: I have power to inhibit you." — "Does Your Lordship exact that power? Do you now inhibit me?" The answer was, "Oh, why will you push matters to an extreme!" and the Bishop put an end to this irritating interview by saying, "Well, Sir, you knew my judgement before, and you know it now." Charles Wesley would not reflect with much satisfaction upon this dialogue when he and his brother altered their opinions respecting the point in dispute. They had indeed, great reason to admire the temper and the wisdom of this excellent Prelate, and of the Primate also upon whom they waited to justify themselves, soon afterwards, without a summons. "He showed us," says Charles, "great affection, and cautioned us to give no more umbrage than was necessary for our own defence, to forbear exceptionable phrases, and to keep to the doctrines of the Church." We told him we expected persecution would abide by the Church till her articles and homilies were repealed. He assured us he knew of no design in the governors of the Church to innovate; neither should there be any

innovation while he lived. It was probably at this time that this "great and good man," as Wesley deservedly calls Archbishop Potter, gave him an advice for which he acknowledged, many years afterwards, that he had ever since had occasion to bless God. "If you desire to be extensively useful, do not spend your time and strength in contending for or against such things as are of a disputable nature; but in testifying against open, notorious vice, and in promoting real, essential holiness."

But whatever benefit Wesley might have derived from this wise counsel in his cooler years, he was in no state to profit by it when it was given. At that time he exclaimed, "God deliver me and all that seek him in sincerity, from what the world calls *Christian prudence!*" He was in the high fever of enthusiasm, and they among whom he conversed were continually administering cordials which kept the passion at its height. One of them thus describes the manner in which he was "born of God: it was an instantaneous act: my whole heart was filled with a divine power, drawing all the faculties of my soul after Christ, which continued three or four nights and days. It was as a mighty rushing wind coming into the soul, enabling me from that moment to be more than conqueror over those corruptions which before I was always a slave to. Since that time the whole bent of my will hath been towards him day and night, even in my dreams. I know that I dwell in Christ and Christ in me; I am bone of his bone, and flesh of

his flesh." This looks like Moravian language: but the most extraordinary effusion of enthusiastic raptures which has, perhaps, ever been produced in a Protestant country, was addressed to Wesley at this time by one of his disciples, a young woman, in her twentieth year, who calls him her most dear and honoured father in Christ. Her eyes, she said, had been opened, and though her life had been what the world calls irreproachable, she had found that her sins were great, and that God kept an account of them. Her very tears were sin; she doubted, feared, and sometimes despaired; her heart became hard as a stone, even the joy which she received at the sacrament went out like a lamp for want of oil, and she fell into her old state, a state of damnation. A violent pain in the head seized her whenever she began to pray earnestly, or cry out aloud to Christ. When she was in this state, her sister, who had just received the atonement came to see her, and related her own happy regeneration. "That night," she continues, "I went into the garden, and considering what she had told me, I saw Him by faith, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, Him who justifieth the ungodly. I told Him I was ungodly, and it was for me that He died: His blood did I plead with great faith, to blot out the hand-writing that was against me. I told my Saviour that He had promised to give rest to all that were heavy laden; this promise I claimed, and I saw Him by faith stand condemned before God in my stead. I saw the fountain opened in His side. As I hungered

He fed me; as I thirsted He gave me out of that fountain to drink. And so strong was my faith, that if I had all the sins of the whole world laid upon me, I knew and was sure one drop of His blood was sufficient to atone for all. Well, I clave unto Him, and He did wash me in His blood; He hath clothed me with His righteousness, and has presented me to His Father, to His God and my God, a pure, spotless virgin, as if I had never committed any sin. — Think what a transport of joy I was then in, when I that was lost and undone, dropping into hell, felt a Redeemer come who is *mighty to save, to save to the uttermost!* Yet I did not receive the witness of the Spirit at that time; but in about half an hour the devil came with great power to tempt me; however, I minded him not, but went in and lay down pretty much composed in my mind. My sins were forgiven, but I knew I was not yet born of God. In the morning I found the work of the Spirit was very powerful upon me; as my mother bore me with great pain, so did I feel great pain in my soul in being born of God. Indeed I thought the pains of death were upon me, and that my soul was then taking leave of the body; I thought I was going to Him whom I saw with strong faith, standing ready to receive me. In this violent agony I continued about four hours, and then I began to feel the *Spirit of God bearing witness with my spirit that I was born of God.* — Oh, mighty, powerful, happy change: — The love of God was shed abroad in my heart, and a flame kindled there with pains so violent,

yet so very ravishing, that my body was almost torn asunder. I loved; the Spirit cried strong in my heart; I sweated; I trembled; I fainted; I sung; I joined my voice with those that excel in strength; my soul was got up into the holy Mount; I had no thoughts of coming down again into the body; I who not long before had called to the rocks to fall on me, and the mountains to cover me, could now call for nothing else, but *Come Lord Jesus! Come quickly!* — Oh, I thought my head was a fountain of water! I was dissolved in love; *My beloved is mine, and I am his;* He has all charms; He has ravished my heart; He is my comforter, my friend, my all. He is now in his garden, feeding among the lilies; *Oh I am sick of love;* He is altogether lovely, *the chiefest among ten thousand!* Oh, how Jesus fills, Jesus extends, Jesus overwhelms the soul in which he dwells!" That a Franciscan or Dominican confessor should encourage ravings and raptures like these in an enthusiastic girl, with a view to some gainful imposture, or to fouler purposes, would be nothing extraordinary; for such things have sometimes passed current, and sometimes been detected. In Wesley's case it is perfectly certain that no ill motive existed, and that when he sanctioned the rhapsody by making it public, he was himself in as high a state of excitement as his spiritual daughter; but it is remarkable that when the fermentation of his zeal was over, when time and experience had matured his mind, and Methodism had assumed a sober character as well as a consistent form, he

should have continued to send it abroad without one qualifying sentence, or one word of caution to those numerous readers, who, without such caution, would undoubtedly suppose that it was intended for edification and example.

In the latter end of the year Whitefield returned from Georgia: during a residence of three months there, he had experienced none of those vexations which had embittered Wesley's life among the colonists; for though he discharged his * duty with equal fervour and equal plainness, he never attempted to revive obsolete forms, nor insisted upon unnecessary scruples. It is to the credit of the people of Savannah, that though they knew his intimacy with Wesley, they received him at first without any appearance of ill-will, and soon became so attached to him, that, as he says, he was really happy in his little foreign cure, and could have cheerfully remained among them. Two objects, however, rendered it necessary for him to return to England: first, that he might receive

* "My ordinary way," he says, "of dividing my ministerial labours has been as follows: On Sunday morning, at five o'clock, I publicly expound the lesson for the morning or evening service, as I see most suited to the people's edification; at ten I preach and read prayers; at three in the afternoon I do the same, and at seven expound part of the Church Catechism, at which great numbers are usually present. I visit from house to house, read public prayers, and catechise (unless something extraordinary happens) and visit the sick every day; and read to as many of the parishioners as will come to the parsonage-house thrice a week." (Journals, p. 90.) And in one of his letters he says, "I visit from house to house, catechise, read prayers twice, and expound the two second lessons every day; read to a house-full of people three times a week; expound the two lessons at five in the morning, read prayers and preach twice, and expound the catechism to servants, &c. at seven in the evening every Sunday." (Letter 40.)

priest's orders; and secondly, that he might raise contributions for founding and supporting an orphan-house in the colony. To this design his attention had previously been called by Charles Wesley and General Oglethorpe; and he was encouraged by the signal success of Professor Franck, in establishing a similar institution at Halle. Accordingly he sailed for Europe, and after a miserable voyage of nine weeks and three days, when they had been long upon short allowance, had exhausted their last cask of water, and knew not where they were, they came safe into Limerick harbour.

As soon as he arrived in London, he waited on the Bishop and on the Primate: they received him favourably, and no doubt were in hopes that the great object which he now had in view would fix him in Georgia, where there was no danger that his enthusiasm should take a mischievous direction. The trustees highly approved his conduct; at the request of the magistrates and settlers they presented him with the living of Savannah, and he was ordained priest by his venerable friend the Bishop of Gloucester. "God be praised," says he; "I was praying night and day whilst on shipboard, if it might be the divine will, that good Bishop Benson, who laid hands on me as a deacon, might now make me a priest: and now my prayer is answered." There remained the business of raising money for the orphan-house, and this detained him in England long enough to take those decisive measures which, in their inevitable consequences, led step by step to the separation of the

Methodists from the Church, and their organization as a sect.

Many societies had by this time been formed in London, but the central place of meeting was a large room in Fetter-lane. Here they had their love-feasts, at which they ate bread and water in the intervals of singing and praying, and where they encouraged each other in excesses of devotion which, if they found the mind sane, were not likely long to leave it so. "On the first night of the new year," says Wesley, "Mr. Hall, Kinchin, Ingham, Whitefield, Hutchins, and my brother Charles, were present at our love-feast, with about sixty of our brethren. About three in the morning, as we were continuing instant in prayer, the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch, that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground. As soon as we were recovered a little from that awe and amazement at the presence of his majesty, we broke out with one voice, *We praise thee, O God; we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.*" "It was a Pentecost season indeed," says Whitefield: "sometimes whole nights were spent in prayer. Often have we been filled as with new wine; and often have I seen them overwhelmed with the Divine Presence, and cry out, 'Will God indeed dwell with men upon earth? How dreadful is this place? This is no other than the house of God and the gate of heaven!'"

Meetings of this kind prolonged far into the midnight, and even through the night, where what neither the Wesleys nor Whitefield approved in

their cooler age. They gave just offence to the better part of the clergy; and men who were neither deficient in piety nor in zeal, properly refused to lend their pulpits to preachers who seemed to pride themselves upon setting prudence at defiance. But if this had not driven them to field-preaching, they would have taken to that course, from a necessity of a different nature. One Sunday, when Whitefield was preaching at Bermondsey church, as he tells us, "with great freedom in his heart, and clearness in his voice," to a crowded congregation, near a thousand people stood in the church-yard during the service, hundreds went away who could not find room, and he had a strong inclination to go out and preach to them from one of the tomb-stones. "This," he says, "put me first upon thinking of preaching without doors. I mentioned it to some friends, who looked upon it as a mad notion. However, we knelt down and prayed that nothing may be done rashly. Hear and answer, O Lord, for thy name's sake!"

About a fortnight afterwards he went to Bristol. Near that city is a tract of country called Kingswood; formerly, as its name implies, it had been a royal chace, containing between three and four thousand acres, but it had been gradually appropriated by the several lords whose estates lay round about its borders; and their title, which for a long time was no better than what possession gave them, had been legalized. The deer had long since disappeared, and the greater part of the wood also; and coal mines having been discovered there, from

which Bristol derives its chief supply of fuel, it was now inhabited by a race of people as lawless as the foresters their forefathers, but far more brutal, and differing as much from the people of the surrounding country in dialect as in appearance. They had at that time no place of worship, for Kingswood then belonged to the out-parish of St. Philip and Jacob; and if the colliers had been disposed to come from a distance of three and four miles, they would have found no room in the parish church of a populous suburb. When upon his last visit to Bristol, before his embarkation, Whitefield spoke of converting the savages, many of his friends said to him, "What need of going abroad for this? Have we not Indians enough at home? If you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough in Kingswood."

Toward these colliers Whitefield, as he says, had long felt his bowels yearn, for they were very numerous, and yet as sheep having no shepherd. In truth, it was a matter of duty and of sound policy, (which is always duty,) that these people should not be left in a state of bestial ignorance; heathens, or worse than heathens, in the midst of a Christian country, and brutal as savages, in the close vicinity of a city which was then in extent, wealth, population, and commercial importance, the second city in England. On the afternoon, therefore, of Saturday, Feb. 17. 1739, he stood upon a mount, in a place called Rose Green, his "first field pulpit," and preached to as many as came to hear, attracted by the novelty of such an address. "I

thought," says he, "it might be doing the service of my Creator, who had a mountain for his pulpit, and the heavens for a sounding-board: and who, when his gospel was refused by the Jews, sent his servants into the highways and hedges." Not above two hundred persons gathered round him, for there had been no previous notice of his intention; and these perhaps being no way prepared for his exhortations, were more astonished than impressed by what they heard. But the first step was taken, and Whitefield was fully aware of its importance. "Blessed be God," he says in his journal, "that the ice is now broke, and I have now taken the field. Some may censure me; but is there not a cause? Pulpits are denied, and the poor colliers ready to perish for lack of knowledge." It was not, however, because pulpits were denied him that he had preached upon the mount at Rose Green; but in the course wherein he was proceeding, that which at first was choice, soon became necessity.

When Whitefield arrived at Bristol, the Chancellor of that diocese had told him that he would not prohibit any minister from lending him a church; but in the course of the week he sent for him, and told him he intended to stop his proceedings. He then asked him by what authority he preached in the diocese of Bristol without a licence. Whitefield replied, "I thought that custom was grown obsolete. And why, pray, Sir, did not you ask the clergyman this question who preached for you last Thursday?" This reply he relates with-

out the slightest sense of its impropriety or its irrelevance. The Chancellor then read to him those canons which forbade any minister from preaching in a private house. Whitefield answered, he apprehended they did not apply to professed ministers of the Church of England. When he was informed of his mistake, he said, "There is also a canon, Sir, forbidding all clergymen to frequent taverns and play at cards; why is not that put in execution?" and he added, that notwithstanding those canons, he could not but speak the things which he knew, and that he was resolved to proceed as usual. The answer was written down, and the Chancellor then said, "I am resolved, Sir, if you preach or expound any where in this diocese till you have a licence, I will first suspend, and then excommunicate you." With this declaration of war they parted: but the advantage was wholly on the side of Whitefield, for the day of ecclesiastical discipline was gone by: laws which have long slept may sometimes be awakened to an ill purpose, rarely to a good one; and where discipline is obsolete, and the laws are feeble, enthusiasm, like Drawcansir in the Rehearsal, can do whatever it dares.

Whitefield had none of that ambition which formed so prominent a part of Wesley's character: but he had a great longing to be persecuted. Upon recording his interview with the Chancellor in his journal, he says, "This day my Master honoured me more than ever he did yet;" and his letters are full of aspirations for martyrdom, and prophetic

hopes which, in a persecuting age, would infallibly have wrought their own accomplishment. "O dear Mr. H.," he says to one of his correspondents, "my heart is drawn towards London most strangely. Perhaps you may hear of your friend's imprisonment; I expect no other preferment. God grant I may behave so, that when I suffer it may be not for my own imprudencies, but for righteousness sake, and then I am sure the spirit of Christ and of glory will rest upon my soul." Soon afterwards he says, "The hour of my imprisonment is not yet come; I am, not fit as yet to be so highly honoured." Then again his hopes are exalted: "I am only *beginning to begin* to be a Christian. I must *suffer* also as well as *do* for my dear Master. Perhaps a storm is gathering. I believe God will permit it to fall on my head first. This comes then, honoured Sir, to desire your prayers that none of those things may move me; and that I may not count even my life dear to me; so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus. Though I die for him, yet I beseech you, honoured Sir, to pray that I may not in any way deny him." And again, "The hour of suffering is not yet come. God prepare us all for it! I expect to suffer for my blessed Master's name-sake. But wherefore do I fear? my Master will pray for me: if the gospel continues to run and have such a free course, I must suffer as well as preach for my dear Lord Jesus. Oh lift up your hands, dear Sir, in the congregations of the faithful, that I may willingly, if need

be, resist unto blood; but not, with carnal weapons. Taking the sword out of the hand of God's spirit, I fear, has more than once stopped the progress of the Gospel. The Quakers, though wrong in their principles, yet I think have left us an example of patient suffering, and did more, by their bold, unanimous, and persevering testimonies, than if they had taken up all the arms in the kingdom. In this respect I hope I shall follow them as they did Christ; and though I die for him, yet take up no carnal weapon in defence of him in any wise." —"If the work goes on, a trying time will come. I pray God the same spirit may be found in all that profess the Lord Jesus, as was in the primitive saints, confessors, and martyrs. As for my own part I expect nothing but afflictions and bonds. The spirit, as well as the doctrines of popery, prevails much in many protestants' hearts; they already breathe out threatenings; what wonder if, when in their power, they should breathe out slaughters also? This is my comfort, the doctrines I have taught are the doctrines of Scripture, the doctrines of our own and of other reformed churches. If I suffer for preaching them, so be it! Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God! I rejoice in the prospect of it, and beseech thee, my dear Redeemer, to strengthen me in the suffering hour." Such fears, or rather such hopes, were suited to the days of Queen Mary, Bishop Gardiner, and Bishop Bonner; — they are ridiculous or disgusting in the time of George the Second, Archbishop Potter, and Bishop Gibson. 'It might be

suspected that Whitefield had grown deranged by the perpetual reading of Fox's Martyrs, like Don Quixote over his books of chivalry, and Loyola over the Lives of the Saints. But it was neither by much reading, nor much learning, that Whitefield was affected. His heart was full of benevolence and piety, — his feelings were strong and ardent, his knowledge little, and his judgement weak, — and by gazing intensely and continuously upon one bright and blazing truth, he had blinded himself to all things else.

Having once taken the field, he was soon encouraged to persevere in so promising a course. All the churches being now shut, and, as he says, if open, not able to contain half that came to hear, he went again to Kingswood: his second audience consisted of some two thousand persons, his third from four to five thousand, and they went on increasing to ten, fourteen, twenty thousand. "The sun shone very bright," he says, "and the people standing in such an awful manner round the mount, in the profoundest silence, filled me with a holy admiration. Blessed be God for such a plentiful harvest. Lord do thou send forth more labourers into thy harvest!" On another occasion he says, "The trees and hedges were full. All was hush when I began: the sun shone bright, and God enabled me to preach for an hour with great power, and so loud, that all, I was told, could hear me. Blessed be God, Mr. —— spoke right; *the fire is kindled in the country!*— "To behold, such crowds standing together in such an awful

silence; and to hear the echo of their singing run from one end of them to the other, was very solemn and striking. How infinitely more solemn and striking will the general assembly of the spirits of just men made perfect be, when they join in singing the song of Moses and the Lamb in Heaven!" Yet he says, "As the scene was new, and I had just began to be an extempore preacher, it often occasioned many inward conflicts. Sometimes, when twenty thousand people were before me, I had not, in my own apprehension, a word to say either to God or them. But I never was totally deserted; and frequently (for to deny it would be lying against God) so assisted, that I knew by happy experience what our Lord meant by saying, *out of his belly shall flow rivers of living waters.*" The deep silence of his rude auditors was the first proof that he had impressed them; and it may well be imagined how greatly the consciousness and confidence of his own powers must have been increased, when, as he says, he saw the white gutters made by the tears which plentifully fell down their black cheeks, — black as they came out of their coal-pits. "The open firmament above me," says he, "the prospect of the adjacent fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees, and at times all affected and drenched in tears together; to which sometimes was added the solemnity of the approaching evening, was almost too much for, and quite overcame me."

While Whitefield thus with such signal success was renewing a practice which had not been seen in England since the dissolution of the monastic orders, Methodism in London had reached its highest point of extravagance, and produced upon susceptible subjects a bodily disease, peculiar and infectious; which both by those who excited and those who experienced it, was believed to be part of the process of regeneration, and, therefore, the work of God. The first patients having no example to encourage them, naturally restrained themselves as much as they could; they fell however into convulsive motions, and could not refrain from uttering cries; and these things gave offence at first, and occasioned disputes in the society. Charles Wesley thought them "no sign of grace." The first violent case which occurred, was that of a middle-aged woman in the middle rank of life, who for three years had been "under strong convictions of sin, and in such a terror of mind, that she had no comfort in any thing, nor any rest day or night." The minister of her parish, whom she had consulted, assured her husband that she was stark mad, and advised him to send immediately for a physician; and the physician being of the same opinion she was bled, blistered, and drenched accordingly. One evening in a meeting where Wesley was expounding to five or six hundred persons, she suddenly cried out as if in the agonies of death, and appeared to some of those about her almost to be in that state; others, however, who began to have some experience in such cases, understood that it

was the crisis of her spiritual struggles. "We prayed," says Wesley in a letter to Whitefield, "that God who had brougth her to the birth would give her strength to bring forth, and that he would work speedily that all might see it, and fear, and put their trust in the Lord."—"Five days she travailed and groaned being in bondage; then," he continues, "our Lord got himself the victory," and from that time the woman was full of joy and love, and thanksgivings were rendered on her account.

Another woman was affected under more remarkable circumstances: Wesley visited her because she was "above measure enraged at the *new way*, and zealous in opposing it." He argued with her till he perceived that argument had its usual effect of inflaming more and more a mind that was already feverish. He then broke off the dispute and entreated that she would join with him in prayer, and she so far consented as to kneel down: this was, in fact, submitting herself. "In a few minutes she fell into an extreme agony both of body and soul, and soon after cried out with the utmost earnestness, 'Now I know I am forgiven for Christ's sake!' Many other words she uttered to the same effect, witnessing a hope full of immortality. And from that hour God set her face as a flint to declare the faith which before she persecuted." This Wesley calls one of the most surprising instances of divine power that he ever remembered to have seen. The sincerity of the subject he never questioned, and perhaps there was no cause for questioning it;

like Mesmer and his disciples he had produced a new disease, and he accounted for it by a theological theory instead of a physical one. As men are intoxicated by strong drink affecting the mind through the body, so are they by strong passions influencing the body through the mind. Here there was nothing but what would naturally follow when persons, in a state of spiritual drunkenness, abandoned themselves to their sensations, and such sensations spread rapidly, both by voluntary and involuntary imitation.

Whitefield was at this time urging Wesley that he would come to Bristol without delay, and keep up the sensation which had been produced there, for he himself must prepare for his return to Georgia. These solicitations were enforced by Mr. Seward of Evesham, a young man of education and fortune, one of the most enthusiastic and attached of Whitefield's converts. It might have been thought that Wesley to whom all places were alike, would have hastened at the call, but he and his brother, instead of taking the matter into calm and rational consideration, had consulted the Bible upon the business, and stumbled upon uncomfortabe texts. The first was, "*And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him,*" to which they added, "not till the time was come," that its import might correspond with the subsequent lots. Another was, "*Get thee up into this mountain, and die in the Mount, whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people.*" The next trial confirmed the impression which these had made:

"*And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days.*" These verses were sufficiently ominous, but worse remained behind: "*I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake*", and pushing the trial still farther, they opened upon the burial of St. Stephen the proto-martyr. "Whether," says Wesley in his journal, "this was permitted only for the trial of our faith, God knoweth, and the event will show." These unpropitious texts rendered him by no means desirous of undertaking the journey, and when it was proposed at the society in Fetter-lane, Charles would scarcely bear it to be mentioned. Yet, like a losing gamester who the worse he finds his fortune is the more eagerly bent upon tempting it, he appealed again to the oracles of God, which were never designed thus to be consulted in the spirit of heathen superstition: "He received," says the journal, "these words, as spoken to himself, and answered not again." "*Son of man, behold I take from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke, and yet shalt thou not mourn or weep, neither shall thy tears run down.*" However disposed the brothers might have been that he should have declined the journey without farther consultation, the members of the society * continued to dispute upon it, till, seeing no probability of coming to an agreement

* "It was a rule of the Society," says Dr. Whitehead, "that any person who desired or designed to take a journey, should first, if it were possible, have the approbation of the bands; so entirely at this time were the ministers under the direction of the people." But as there were no settled ministers, and no settled place at this time, it is evident that this rule had nothing to do with church discipline.

by any other means, they had recourse to sortilege; and the lot decided that Wesley should go. This being determined, they opened the Bible "concerning the issue," and the auguries were no better than before: "*When wicked men have slain a righteous person in his own house upon his bed, shall I not now require his blood at your hands, and take you away from the earth?*" This was one; the final one was, "*Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem.*" There are not so many points of similitude between Bristol and Jerusalem, as between Monmouth and Macedon, and Henry the Fifth was more like Alexander than John Wesley would have acknowledged himself to resemble Ahaz; but it was clear language for an oracle. "We dissuaded my brother," says Charles, "from going to Bristol, from an unaccountable fear that it would prove fatal to him. He offered himself willingly to whatever the Lord should appoint. The next day he set out, recommended by us to the grace of God. He left a blessing behind him. I desired to die with him." "Let me not be accounted superstitious," says Wesley, "if I recite the remarkable Scriptures which offered as often as we enquired touching the consequences of this removal." It will not be thought superfluous here to have repeated them.

CHAPTER VII.

WESLEY AT BRISTOL.

At Bristol the modern practice of field-preaching had begun; and the foundations of Methodism as a substantive and organized sect, existing independently of the Church, were now to be laid at Bristol. These are remarkable events in the history of that city, one of the most ancient, most beautiful, and most interesting in England.

Wesley had never been at Bristol before: Whitefield received him there, and introduced him to persons who were prepared to listen to him with eager and intense belief: "Help him, Lord Jesus," says Whitefield, "to water what thy own right hand hath planted, for thy mercy's sake!" Having thus provided so powerful a successor he departed. Wherever he took his leave, at their places of meeting, there was loud weeping: "Oh," he exclaims, "these partings!" When he forced himself away, crowds were waiting at the door to give him a last farewell, and near twenty friends accompanied him on horseback. "Blessed be God," says he, "for the marvellous great kindness he hath shown me in this city! Many sinners, I believe, have been effectually converted; numbers of God's children greatly comforted; several thousands of little books have been dispersed among the

people; about two hundred pounds collected for the orphan house; and many poor families relieved by the bounty of my friend Mr. Seward. Shall not these things be noted in my book? God forbid they should not be written on the tables of my heart. Even so Lord Jesus!"

His journey lay through Kingswood; and there the colliers, without his knowledge, had prepared an entertainment for him. Having been informed that they were willing to subscribe towards building a Charity-School for their children, he had preached to them upon the subject, and he says it was surprising to see with what cheerfulness they parted with their money on this occasion; all seemed willing to assist, either by their money or their labour; and now at this farewell visit they earnestly entreated that he would lay the first stone. The request was somewhat premature, for it was not yet certain whether the site which they desired would be granted them; a person, however, was present who declared he would give a piece of ground in case the lord of the manor should refuse, and Whitefield then laid a stone; after which he knelt, and prayed God that the gates of hell might not prevail against their design; the colliers saying a hearty Amen.

On the day before his departure he set Wesley an example of field-preaching. "I could scarce reconcile myself," says Wesley, "at first to this strange way, having been all my life, till very lately, so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought

the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church." The next day he observed that our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, was "one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching; and," he adds, "I suppose there were churches at that time also;" a remark which first indicates a hostile feeling toward the Establishment, for it has no other meaning. "On the morrow, at four in the afternoon," he says, "I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city to about three thousand people. The Scripture on which I spoke was this, (is it possible any one should be ignorant that it is fulfilled in every true minister of Christ?) *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.*" There is much of the language of humility here, and little of the spirit; but it was scarcely possible that any man should not have been inflated upon discovering that he possessed a power over the minds of his fellow creatures so strong, so strange, and at that time so little understood.

The paroxysms of the disease which Methodism excited, had not appeared at Bristol under Whitefield's preaching, they became frequent after Wesley's arrival there. One day, after Wesley had expounded the fourth chapter of Acts, the persons

present "called upon God to confirm his word." "Immediately," he adds, "one that stood by, to our no small surprize, cried out aloud, with the utmost vehemence, even as in the agonies of death: but we continued in prayer, till *a new song was put in her mouth, a thanksgiving unto our God.* Soon after, two other persons (well known in this place, as labouring to live in all good conscience towards all men) were seized with strong pain, and constrained to *roar for the disquietness of their heart.* But it was not long before they likewise burst forth into praise to God their Saviour. The last who called upon God as out of the belly of hell was a stranger in Bristol; and in a short space he also was overwhelmed with joy and love, knowing that God had healed his backslidings. So many living witnesses hath God given, that *his hand is still stretched out to heal, and that signs and wonders are even now wrought by his holy child Jesus.*" At another place, "a young man was suddenly seized with a violent trembling all over, and in a few minutes, the *sorrows of his heart being enlarged,* sunk down to the ground; but we ceased not calling upon God, till he raised him up full of *peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.*" Preaching at Newgate, Wesley was led insensibly, he says, and without any previous design, to declare strongly and explicitly that God *willeth all men to be saved,* and to pray that if this were not the truth of God, he would not suffer the blind to go out of the way; but if it were, that he would bear witness to his word. "Immediately one, and another, and another, sunk to the earth;

they dropt on every side as thunderstruck." "In the evening I was again prest in spirit to declare that *Christ gave himself a ransom for all.* And almost before we called upon him to set to his seal, he answered. One was so wounded by the sword of the spirit, that you would have imagined she could not live a moment. But immediately his abundant kindness was showed, and she loudly sang of his righteousness."

When these things became public, they gave just offence; but they were ascribed to a wrong cause. A physician, who suspected fraud, was led by curiosity to be a spectator of these extraordinary exhibitions, and a person whom he had known many years, was thrown into the fit while he was present. She cried aloud, and wept violently. He who could hardly believe the evidence of his senses, "went and stood close to her, and observed every symptom, till great drops of sweat ran down her face, and all her bones shook. He then," says Wesley, "knew not what to think, being clearly convinced it was not fraud, nor yet any natural disorder. But when both her soul and body were healed in a moment, he acknowledged the finger of God." Whatever this witness's merit may have been as a practitioner, he was but a sorry physiologist. A powerful doctrine preached with passionate sincerity, with fervid zeal, and with vehement eloquence, produced a powerful effect upon weak minds, ardent feelings, and disordered fancies. There are passions which are as infectious as the plague, and fear itself is not more so

than fanaticism. When once these bodily affections were declared to be the work of grace, the process of regeneration, the throes of the new-birth, a free licence was proclaimed for every kind of extravagance. And when the preacher, instead of exhorting his auditors to commune with their own hearts, and in their chambers, and be still, encouraged them to throw off all restraint, and abandon themselves before the congregation to these mixed sensations of mind and body, the consequences were what might be anticipated. Sometimes he scarcely began to speak, before some of his believers, over-wrought with expectation, fell into the crisis, for so it may be called in Methodism, as properly as in Animal Magnetism. Sometimes his voice could scarcely be heard amid the groans and cries of these suffering and raving enthusiasts. It was not long before men, women, and children, began to act the demoniac as well as the convert. Wesley had seen many hysterical fits, and many fits of epilepsy, but none that were like these, and he confirmed the patients in their belief that they were torn of Satan. One or two indeed perplexed him a little, for they were "tormented in such an unaccountable manner, that they seemed to be lunatic," he says, "as well as sore-vexed." But suspicions of this kind made little impression upon his intoxicated understanding; the fanaticism which he had excited in others was now re-acting upon himself. How should it have been otherwise? A Quaker who was present at one meeting, and inveighed against what he called the dissimulation

of these creatures, caught the contagious emotion himself, and even while he was biting his lips and knitting his brows, dropt down as if he had been struck by lightning. "The agony he was in," says Wesley, "was even terrible to behold; we besought God not to lay folly to his charge, and he soon lifted up his head and cried aloud, 'Now I know thou art a prophet of the Lord.'"

There was a certain weaver, by name John Haydon, who being informed that people fell into strange fits at these societies, went to see and judge for himself. Wesley describes him as a man of regular life and conversation; who constantly attended the public prayers and sacraments, and was zealous for the church, and against dissenters of every denomination. What he saw satisfied him so little, that he went about to see his acquaintance one after another, till one in the morning, labouring to convince them that it was all a delusion of the devil. This might induce a reasonable doubt of his sanity at the time; nor is the suspicion lessened by the circumstance; that when he had sat down to dinner the next day, he chose, before he began to eat, to finish a sermon which he had borrowed upon Salvation by Faith. In reading the last page he changed colour, fell off his chair, beat himself against the ground, and screamed so terribly that the neighbours were alarmed and ran into the house. Wesley was presently informed that the man was fallen raving mad. "I found him," he says, "on the floor, the room being full of people, whom his wife would have kept without,

but he cried out aloud, 'No, let them all come, let all the world see the just judgement of God!' Two or three men were holding him as well as they could. He immediately fixed his eyes upon me, and stretching out his hand, cried, 'Aye, this is he who I said was a deceiver of the people! But God has overtaken me. I said it was all a delusion; but this is no delusion!' He then roared out, 'O thou devil, thou cursed devil, yea, thou legion of devils! thou canst not stay! Christ will cast thee out! I know his work is begun! Tear me to pieces if thou wilt; but thou canst not hurt me!' He then beat himself against the ground again, his breast heaving at the same time as in the pangs of death, and great drops of sweat trickling down his face. We all betook ourselves to prayer. His pangs ceased, and both his body and soul were set at liberty." The next day Wesley found him with his voice gone, and his body weak as an infant's, "but his soul was in peace, full of love, and *rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.*"

In later years Wesley neither expected paroxysms of this kind, nor encouraged them; nor are his followers in England forward to excite or boast of them. They maintain however, that these early cases were the operation of grace, and attempt to prove it by the reality of the symptoms, and the permanence of the religious impressions which were produced. "Perhaps," says Wesley, "it might be because of the hardness of our hearts, unready to receive any thing, unless we see it with our eyes and hear it with our ears, that God in tender con-

descension to our weakness suffered so many outward signs at the very time when he wrought the inward change, to be continually seen and heard among us. But although they saw signs and wonders, for so I must term them, yet many would not believe." These things, however, occasioned a discussion with his brother Samuel: and Wesley perhaps remembered towards the latter end of his life, and felt the force of the arguments which had no weight with him while he was in this state of exaltation.

When Wesley wrote to his eldest brother from Marienborn, he accused him and his wife of evil-speaking. Mrs. Wesley had once interrupted Charles, when he offered to read to them a chapter in Law's Serious Call: it was intended as an indirect lecture, and she told him, with no unbecoming temper, that neither she nor his brother wanted it. Wesley observed in his letter, that he was much concerned at this. "Yes, my sister," he says, "I must tell you, in the spirit of love, and before God who searcheth the heart, you do want it; you want it exceedingly. I know no one soul that wants to read and consider deeply so much the chapter of universal love and that of intercession. The character of Susurrus there, is your own. I should be false to God and you, did I not tell you so. Oh, may it be so no longer; but may you love your neighbour as yourself, both in word and tongue, and in deed and truth." The abundant sincerity of this letter might atone for its lack of courtesy. Wesley did justice to his brother, in believing that he would always receive kindly what was so in-

tended; and after his return to England, he resumed the attack. "I again," he says, "recommend the character of Susurrus both to you and my sister, as (whether real or feigned) striking at the root of a fault, of which both she and you were, I think, more guilty than any other two persons I have known in my life. O may God deliver both you and me from all bitterness and evil speaking, as well as from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism." He then entered upon a vindication of his own conduct, and the doctrine which he had newly espoused, in reply to some remarks which Mrs. Hutton's letter had drawn from his brother.

"With regard to my own character," he says, "and my doctrine likewise, I shall answer you very plainly. By a Christian, I mean one who so believes in Christ, as that sin hath no more dominion over him; and in this obvious sense of the word, I was not a Christian till May the 24th last past. For till then sin had the dominion over me, although I fought with it continually; but surely then, from that time to this, it hath not; such is the free grace of God in Christ. What sins they were which till then reigned over me, and from which by the grace of God I am now free, I am ready to declare on the house-top, if it may be for the glory of God. If you ask by what means I am made free (though not perfect, neither infallibly sure of my perseverance,) I answer, by faith in Christ; by such a sort or degree of faith as I had not till that day. — The πληροφορια πιστεως *the seal of the spirit, the love of God shed abroad in my heart*, and producing joy

in the Holy Ghost, *joy which no man taketh away, joy unspeakable and full of glory;* this witness of the spirit I have not, but I patiently wait for it. I know many who have already received it, more than one or two in the very hour we were praying for it. And having seen and spoken with a cloud of witnesses abroad, as well as in my own country, I cannot doubt but that believers who wait and pray for it, will find these scriptures fulfilled in themselves. My hope is that they will be fulfilled in me. I build on Christ, the rock of ages; on his sure mercies described in his word, and on his promises, all which I know are yea and amen. Those who have not yet received joy in the Holy Ghost, the love of God, and the *plerophory* of faith, (any or all of which I take to be the witness of the spirit, with our spirit that we are the sons of God,) I believe to be Christians in that imperfect sense wherein I call myself such. O brother, would to God you would leave disputing concerning the things which you know not (if indeed you know them not), and beg of God to fill up what is yet wanting in you! Why should not you also seek till you receive that peace of God which passeth all understanding? Who shall *hinder you, notwithstanding the manifold temptations, from rejoicing with joy unspeakable by reason of glory?* Amen! Lord Jesus! May you, and all who are near of kin to you (if you have it not already), feel his love shed abroad in your hearts, by his spirit which dwelleth in you, and be sealed with the holy spirit of promise which is the earnest of your inherit-

ance." With regard to some stories to which Samuel had alluded of visions, and of a ball of fire falling upon a female convert, and inflaming her soul, he observed, that if all which had been said upon visions, and dreams, and balls of fire, were fairly proposed in syllogisms, it would not prove a jot more on one, than on the other side of the question. He built nothing on such tales.

To this Samuel replied, "You build nothing on tales, but I do. I see what is manifestly built upon them. If you disclaim it, and warn poor shallow pates of their folly and danger, so much the better. They are counted signs or tokens, means or conveyances, proof or evidences of the sensible information, &c. calculated to turn fools into madmen, and put them without a jest into the condition of Oliver's porter. When I hear visions, &c. reproved, discouraged, and ceased among the new brotherhood, I shall then say no more of them; but till then I will use my utmost strength that God shall give me, to expose these bad branches of a bad root. I am not out of my way, though encountering of wind-mills." In a subsequent letter he says, "I might as well let writing alone at present, for any effect it will have, farther than showing you I neither despise you on the one hand, nor am angry with you on the other. Charles has told me, he believes no more in dreams and visions than I do. Had you said so, I believe I should hardly have spent any time upon them, though I find others credit them, whatever you may do."

"You make two degrees or kinds of assurance," he continues: "that neither of them are necessary to a state of salvation, I prove thus: 1st. Because multitudes are saved without either. These are of three sorts, all infants baptised, who die before actual sin; all persons of a melancholy and gloomy constitution, who without a miracle cannot be changed; all penitents who live a good life after their recovery, and yet never attain to their first state. 2dly. The lowest assurance is an impression from God, who is infallible, that heaven shall be actually enjoyed by the person to whom it is made. How is this consistent with fears of miscarriage, with deep sorrow, and going on the way weeping? How can any doubt after such certificate? If they can, then here is an assurance whereby the person who has it is not sure. 3dly. If this be essential to a state of salvation, it is utterly impossible any should fall from that state finally; since, how can any thing be more fixed than what Truth and Power has said he will perform? Unless you will say of the matter here as I observed of the person, that there may be assurance wherein the thing itself is not certain."

Wesley replied, "To this hour you have pursued an *ignoratio elenchi*. Your *assurance* and mine are as different as light and darkness. I mean an assurance that I am *now* in a state of salvation: you an assurance that I shall *persevere* therein.—No kind of assurance (that I know), or of faith, or repentance, is essential to their salvation who die infants. I believe God is ready to give all true

penitents, who fly to his free grace in Christ, a fuller sense of pardon than they had before they fell. I know this to be true of several; whether there are exempt cases I know not. Persons of a melancholy and gloomy constitution, even to some degree of madness, I have known in a moment brought (let it be called a miracle, I quarrel not) into a state of firm, lasting peace and joy."

It was from Bristol that Wesley wrote this letter, when he was in the full career of triumphant enthusiasm, by producing effects which he verily believed to be miraculous. "My dear brother," he says, "the whole question turns on matter of fact. You deny that God does now work these effects; at least that he works them in such a manner. I affirm both, because I have heard those facts with my ears, and seen them with my eyes. I have seen (as far as it can be seen) many persons changed in a moment from the spirit of horror, fear, and despair, to the spirit of hope, joy, peace; and from sinful desires, till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. These are matters of fact, whereof I have been, and almost daily am, eye or ear witness. Upon the same evidence (as to the suddenness and reality of the change) I believe, or know this, touching visions and dreams: I know several persons in whom this great change from the power of Satan unto God was wrought either in sleep, or during a strong representation to the eye of their minds of Christ, either on the cross, or in glory. This is the fact: let any judge of it as they please. But that such

a change was then wrought appears, not from their shedding tears only, or sighing, or singing psalms, but from the whole tenour of their life, till then many ways wicked, from that time holy, just, and good. I will show you him that was a lion till then, and is now a lamb; he that was a drunkard, but now exemplarily sober; the whoremonger that was, who now abhors the very lusts of the flesh. These are my living arguments for what I assert, that God now, as aforetime, gives remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, which may be called visions. If it be not so, I am found a false witness; but, however, I do and will testify the things I have both seen and heard.

Samuel had said to him, with a feeling of natural * resentment, "I am persuaded you will hardly see me face to face in this world, though somewhat nearer than Count Zinzendorf." In his reply, Wesley says, "I do not expect to see your face in the flesh. Not that I believe God will discharge you yet, but I believe I have nearly finished my course;" and he added, that he expected to stay at Bristol some time, perhaps as long as he was in the body. This evidently alludes to the impression which his unlucky *Sortes Biblicæ* had left upon his mind; but it alarmed his brother, who entreated

* In a subsequent letter he thus strongly expresses his disappointment in not seeing his brother: "I heartily pray God we may meet each other with joy in the next life; and beg him to forgive either of us, as far as guilty, for our not meeting in this. I acknowledge his justice in making my friends stand afar off, and hiding any acquaintance out of my sight." Wesley must have reflected upon this with some pain, when a few months only after it was written, he lost his excellent brother.

him to explain what reason he had for thinking he should not live long. And showing at the same time his love for John, and his admiration of the great qualities which he possessed, he adds, "I should be very angry with you, if you cared for it, should you have broken your iron constitution already; as I was with the glorious Pascal for losing his health, and living almost twenty years in pain."

"I argue against assurance," he says, "in your or any sense, as part of the gospel covenant, because many are saved without it. You own you cannot deny exempt cases, which is giving up the dispute. *Your assurance*, being a clear impression of God upon the soul, I say, must be perpetual, must be irreversible, else it is not assurance from God, infallible and omnipotent. Your seeing persons reformed is nothing to this. Dear brother, do you dream I deny the grace of God? but to suppose the means whereby they are so in this sense, is, in my opinion, as very a *petitio principii* as ever was. You quarrel not at the word miracle, nor is there any reason you should, since you are so well acquainted with the thing. You say the cross is strongly represented to the eye of the mind. Do these words signify in plain English *the fancy*? Inward eyes, ears, and feelings, are nothing to other people. I am heartily sorry such alloy should be found among so much piety. My mother tells me she fears a formal schism is already begun among you, though you and Charles are ignorant of it. For God's sake take care of that,

and banish extemporary expositions and extemporary prayers. I have got your abridgement of Haliburton; if it please God to allow me life and strength, I shall demonstrate that the Scot as little deserves preference to all Christians but our Saviour as the book to all writings* but those you mention. There are two flagrant falsehoods in the very first chapter. But your eyes are so fixed upon one point, that you overlook every thing else;—you overshoot, but Whitefield raves."

In his reply to this letter, John recurred to his own notion of assurance. "The Gospel," he says, "promises to you and me, and our children, and all that are afar off, even as many of those whom the Lord our God shall call, as are not disobedient unto the heavenly vision, *the witness of God's Spirit with their spirit, that they are the children of God;* that they are *now*, at this hour, all accepted in the beloved: but it witnesses not that they always shall be. It is an assurance of *present* salvation only: therefore not necessarily perpetual, neither irreversible." The doctrine is unexceptionable, the error lay in the indiscreet use of a term, which in strict logic, and in common acceptation, means more than this, and certainly would be understood in its largest import. He reverted also to the same facts concerning the manner in which this assurance was conveyed. "I am one of many wit-

* Wesley had said, in his Preface to the "Extracts of the Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Haliburton,"—"I cannot but value it, next to the Holy Scriptures, above any other human composition, excepting only the Christian Pattern, and the small remains of Clemens Romanus Polycarp, and Ignatius."

nesses of this matter of fact, that God does now make good this his promise daily, very frequently during a representation (how made I know not but not to the outward eye) of Christ, either hanging on the cross, or standing on the right hand of God. And this I know to be of God, because from that hour the person so affected is a new creature, both as to his inward tempers and outward life. Old things are passed away, and all things become new." His brother's argument respecting such representations is here left unanswered, because it was unanswerable. But the state of his own judgement at this time is ascertained, (if such proof were necessary,) by his continuing in a belief that the Scriptures had communicated to him a knowledge of his early death. In reply to his brother's affectionate enquiry upon this subject, he says, "I am now in as good health (thanks be to God) as I ever was since I remember, and I believe shall be so as long as I live, for I do not expect to have a lingering death. The reasons that induce me to think I shall not live long, are such as you would not apprehend to be of any weight. I am under no concern on this head; let my Master see to it."

The case of John Haydon was triumphantly stated in this letter. Wesley was firmly convinced that such cases were signs and wonders; and he was soon enabled to answer, as he believed, victoriously, those persons who maintained that they were purely natural effects, and that people fainted away only because of the heat and closeness of the

rooms; or who affirmed that it was all imposture; that the patients might avoid such agitations if they would; else why were these things done only in their private societies? why were they not done in the face of the sun? "To-day," says Wesley in his journal, "our Lord answered for himself. For while I was enforcing these words, *Be still, and know that I am God*, he began to make bare his arm; not in a close room, neither in private, but in the open air, and before more than two thousand witnesses. One, and another, and another, were struck to the earth, trembling exceedingly at the presence of his power. Others cried, with a loud and bitter cry, 'What must we do to be saved?' and in less than an hour seven persons, wholly unknown to me till that time, were rejoicing and singing, and with all their might giving thanks to the God of their salvation." In the evening of that same day, at their meeting in Nicholas-Street, he was interrupted almost as soon as he had begun to speak, (so strongly were his auditors now predisposed for the influence,) by the cries of one "who was pricked to the heart," and groaned vehemently for pardon and peace. Presently another dropped down; and it was not long before a poor little boy caught the infection, and fell also in one of these frightful fits. The next was a young man, by name Thomas Maxfield, a stranger in Bristol, who had come to this meeting from a mere motive of curiosity, and there received an impression which decided the course of his future life. He fixed his eyes on the boy, and sunk down him-

self as one dead, but presently began to roar and beat himself against the ground, so that six men could scarcely hold him. "Except John Haydon," says Wesley, "I never saw one so torn of the Evil One. Meanwhile many others began to cry out to the Saviour of all, that he would come and help them; insomuch, that all the house, and indeed all the street, for some space, was in an uproar. But we continued in prayer; and before ten, the greater part found rest to their souls." The day's work, however, was not yet concluded. "I was called from supper," he says, "to one who, feeling in herself such a conviction as she had never known before, had run out of the society in all haste, that she might not expose herself. But the hand of God followed her still, so that after going a few steps, she was forced to be carried home, and when she was there, grew worse and worse. She was in a violent agony when we came. We called upon God, and her soul found rest. About twelve, I was greatly importuned to go and visit one person more. She had only one struggle after I came, and was then filled with peace and joy. I think twenty-nine in all had their heaviness turned into joy this day." A room, in which they assembled at this time, was propped from beneath for security; but, with the weight of the people, the floor gave way, and the prop fell with a great noise. The floor sunk no farther; but, alarming as this was, after a little surprize at first, they quietly attended to the preacher as if nothing had happened, so entirely were they possessed by him. When he held forth

in the open air, rain, and thunder, and lightning did not disperse the multitudes who gathered round him. He himself could not but be conscious of his own power. Preaching at Clifton Church, and seeing many of the rich there, he says, "My heart was much pained for them, and I was earnestly desirous that some, even of them, might enter into the kingdom of heaven. But full as I was, I knew not where to begin in warning them to flee from the wrath to come, till my Testament opened on these words, *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance;* in applying which my soul was so enlarged, that methought I could have cried out in another sense than poor vain Archimedes, Give me where to stand, and I will shake the earth."

On his first arrival in Bristol, that part of the Methodist discipline was introduced which he had adopted from the Moravians, and male and female bands were formed, as in London, that the members might meet together weekly, to confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another. "How dare any man," says Wesley, "deny this to be, as to the substance of it, a means of grace ordained by God? unless he will affirm with Luther, in the fury of his solifidianism, that St. James's epistle is an epistle of straw. A more important measure was the foundation of the first Methodist preaching house: and this, like the other steps which led inevitably to a separation from the Church, was taken without any such design, or any perception of its consequences. The

rooms in which the Societies at Bristol had hitherto met in Nicholas-Street, Baldwin-Street, and the Back-Lane, were small, incommodious, and not entirely safe. They determined, therefore, to build a room large enough for all the members, and for as many of their acquaintance as might be expected to attend: a piece of ground was obtained in the Horse-Fair, near St. James's church-yard, and there, on the 12th of May, 1739, "the first stone was laid with the voice of praise and thanksgiving." Wesley himself had no intention of being personally engaged either in the direction or expence of the work; for the property had been settled upon eleven feoffees, and upon them he had supposed the whole responsibility would rest. But it soon appeared that the work would be at a stand if he did not take upon himself the payment of all the workmen; and he found himself presently incumbered with a debt of more than an hundred and fifty pounds, which he was to discharge how he could, for the subscription of the Bristol societies did not amount to a fourth part of the sum. In another, and more important point, his friends in London, and Whitefield more especially, had been farther-sighted than himself; they represented to him that the feoffees would always have it in their power to turn him out of the room after he had built it, if he did not preach to their liking; and they declared that they would have nothing to do with the building, nor contribute any thing towards it, unless he instantly discharged all feoffees, and did every thing in his own name. Though Wesley

had not foreseen this consequence, he immediately perceived the wisdom of his friend's advice: no man was more alive to the evils of congregational tyranny; he called together the feoffees, cancelled the writings without any opposition on their part, and took the whole trust, as well as the whole management, into his own hands. "Money," he says, "it is true, I had not, nor any human prospect or probability of procuring it; but I knew *the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;* and in his name set out, nothing doubting."

After he had been about three months in Bristol, there came pressing letters from London, urging him to return thither as soon as possible, because the brethren in Fetter-Lane were in great confusion, for want of his presence and advice. For a while, therefore, he took leave of his growing congregation, saying, that he had not found such love, "no, not in *England*," nor so child-like, artless, teachable a temper, as God had given to these Bristolians.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHITEFIELD IN LONDON. — FRENCH PROPHETS. — EXTRAVAGANCIES OF THE METHODISTS.

DURING his abode at Bristol, Wesley had had many thoughts concerning the unusual manner of his ministering. He who had lately attempted with intolerant austerity, to enforce the discipline of the Church, and revive practices which had properly been suffered to fall into disuse, had now broken through the forms of that Church, and was acting in defiance of her authority. This irregularity he justified, by a determination to allow no other rule of faith, or practice, than the Scriptures; not, perhaps, reflecting that in this position he joined issue with the wildest religious anarchists. "God in Scripture," he reasoned, "commands me according to my power, to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous; man forbids me to do this in another's parish, that is, in effect, to do it at all, seeing I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall; whom then shall I hear, God or man? *If it be just to obey man rather than God, judge you; a dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not this Gospel.* But where shall I preach it upon what are called Catholic principles? — Why not in any of the Christian parts of the habitable earth, for

all these are, after a sort, divided into parishes?" This reasoning led him to look upon all the world as his parish. "In whatever part of it I am," he says, "I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to, and sure I am that His blessing attends it: His servant I am, and as such am employed (glory be to Him) day and night in His service; I am employed according to the plain direction of his word, *as I have opportunity of* doing good unto all men. And His Providence clearly concurs with His word, which has disengaged me from all things else, that I might singly attend on this very thing, *and go about doing good.*"

Some of the disciples in London meantime, had pursued their master's fundamental principle farther than he had any intention of following it. A layman, whose name was Shaw, insisted, that a priesthood was an unnecessary and unscriptural institution, and that he himself had as good a right to preach, baptize, and administer the sacraments, as any other man. Such a teacher found ready believers; the propriety of lay-preaching was contended for at the society in Fetter-Lane, and Charles Wesley strenuously opposed what he called these pestilent errors. In spite of his opposition, a certain Mr. Bowers set the first example. Two or three more ardent innovators declared that they would no longer be members of the Church of England. "Now," says Charles, in his journal,

"am I clear of them; by renouncing the Church, they have discharged me." Bowers, who was not obstinate in his purpose, acknowledged that he had erred, and was reconciled to Charles Wesley: but owing to these circumstances, and to some confusion which the French Prophets, as they were called, were exciting among the Methodists, it was judged expedient to summon John with all speed from Bristol.

Charles had been powerfully supported in these disputes by Whitefield and his friend Howel Harris, a young and ardent Welshman, who was the first great promoter of Methodism in his own country. The former had now taken the field here also: the Vicar of Islington had lent him his pulpit, but the Churchwarden forbade him to preach there unless he could produce a licence; and Whitefield gladly interpreted this to be a manifestation of the divine pleasure, that he should preach in the church-yard, which he says, his Master, by his providence and Spirit compelled him to do. "To-morrow I am to repeat that mad trick, and on Sunday to go out into Moorfields. The word of the Lord runs and is glorified; people's hearts seem quite broken; God strengthens me exceedingly; I preach till I sweat through and through." Public notice was given of his intention, and on the appointed day a great multitude assembled in Moorfields. This tract of land which is already so altered that Whitefield would no longer recognize the scene of his triumph, and which will soon be entirely covered with streets and squares, was originally, as its name

implies, a marsh, passable during the greater part of the year only by a causeway, and of so little value that the whole was let for a yearly rent of four marks. It was gradually drained; the first bricks which are known to have been used in London were made there; and in process of time the greater part of the ground was converted into gardens. These were destroyed that the City Archers might exercise themselves there. The bow and arrow fell into disuse; Bedlam was built there; part of the area was laid out in gravel walks, and planted with elms, and these convenient and frequented walks obtained the name of the City Mall. But from the situation of the ground, and the laxity of the police, it had now become a royalty of the rabble, a place for wrestlers and boxers, mountebanks and merry-andrews; where fairs were held during the holidays, and where at all times the idle, the dissolute and the reprobate resorted; they who were the pests of society, and they who were training up to succeed them in the ways of profligacy and wretchedness.

Preaching in Moorfields was what Whitefield called attacking Satan in one of his strong-holds; and many persons told him, that if he attempted it he would never come away from the place alive. They knew not the power of empassioned eloquence upon a topic in which every hearer was vitally concerned; and they wronged the mob, who seldom or never are guilty of atrocities till they are deluded and misled. No popular prejudice had yet gone forth against the Methodists;

to those among the multitude by whom he was known he was an object of devout admiration, and all the others regarded him with curiosity or with wonder, not with any hostile or suspicious feeling. The table which had been placed for him was broken in pieces by the crowd; he took his stand therefore upon a wall which divided the upper and lower Moorfields, and preached without interruption. There was great prudence in beginning the attack upon Satan on a Sunday: it was taking him at disadvantage, the most brutal of his black guard were not upon the ground, or not engaged in their customary sports of brutality; and the preacher derived some protection from the respect which was paid to the Sabbath-day: Whitefield did not venture as yet to encounter them when they were in full force. His favourite ground upon week-days was Kennington Common, and there prodigious multitudes gathered together to hear him; he had sometimes fourscore carriages, (in those days no inconsiderable number for London to send forth on such an occasion,) very many horsemen, and from 30 to 40,000 persons on foot: and both there, and on his Sunday preachings in Moorfields, when he collected for the orphan-house, so many * half-pence were given him by his poor auditors, that he was wearied in receiving them, and they were more than one man could carry home.

* At Kennington, 47*l.* were collected one evening, of which 16*l.* were in half-pence. At Moorfields, 52*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, of which more than twenty pounds were in half-pence.

While he was engaged in this triumphant career Wesley arrived, and on the day after his arrival accompanied him to Blackheath, expecting to hear him preach: but when they were upon the ground, where about 12 or 14,000 persons were assembled, Whitefield desired him to preach in his stead. Wesley was a little surprized at this, and somewhat reluctant, for he says nature recoiled; he did not however refuse, and being greatly moved with compassion for the rich that were present, he addressed his discourse particularly to them: "Some of them seemed to attend, while others drove away with their coaches from so uncouth a preacher." Whitefield notices this circumstance in his journal with great satisfaction: "I had the pleasure," he says, "of introducing my honoured and reverend friend Mr. John Wesley to preach at Blackheath. The Lord give him ten thousand times more success than he has given me! I went to bed rejoicing that another fresh inroad was made into Satan's territories, by Mr. Wesley's following me in field-preaching in London as well as in Bristol."

It deserves particular notice that no fits or convulsions had as yet been produced under Whitefield's preaching, though he preached the same doctrine as the Wesleys, and addressed himself with equal or greater vehemence to the passions, and with more theatrical effect. But when Wesley, on the second day after his arrival, was preaching to a society in Wapping, the symptoms re-appeared with their usual violence, and were more than

usually contagious. He had begun the service, he says, weary in body and weak in spirit; and felt himself unable to open his mouth upon the text which he had premeditated. His mind was full of some place, he knew not where, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and begging God to direct him he opened the Testament on these words, "*Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us, that is to say, his flesh, — let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water.*" If such a prologue to the scene which ensues should excite a suspicion of Wesley's sincerity he would be wronged thereby; suspicious as it appears, it is the natural representation of one who under a strong delusion of mind, retraced his own feelings after the event, and explained them by the prepossession which fully occupied his mind. "While," he says, "I was earnestly inviting all men *to enter into the Holiest by this new and living way*, many of those that heard began to call upon God with strong cries and tears; some sunk down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently, that often four or five persons could not hold one of them. I have seen many hysterical and epileptic fits, but none of them were like these in many respects. I immediately prayed

that God would not suffer those who were weak to be offended; but one woman was greatly, being sure they might help it if they would, no one should persuade her to the contrary; and she was got three or four yards, when she also dropt down in as violent an agony as the rest. Twenty-six of those who had been thus affected (most of whom, during the prayers which were made for them, were in a moment filled with peace and joy) promised to call upon me the next day; but only eighteen came, by talking closely with whom I found reason to believe that some of them had gone home to their houses justified; the rest seemed to be patiently waiting for it."

A difference of opinion concerning these outward signs, as they were called, was one of the subjects which had distracted the London Methodists, and rendered Wesley's presence among them necessary. The French prophets also had obtained considerable influence over some of the society; these prophets had now for about half a century acted as frantic and as knavish a part for the disgrace of a good cause, as the enemies of that cause could have desired. Louis XIV., at the commencement of his reign, laid down for himself a wise system of conduct towards his Protestant subjects: he perceived that to employ persecution as a remedy for erroneous opinions, implies an ignorance of the nature of the disease, and he acknowledged that the reformers had originally much reason on their side; but as a Roman Catholic, he regarded the doctrines of the Huguenots as damnable, and as a

statesman he knew that any men who desire the destruction of their national church, can be but half-hearted toward the government which upholds that church, and rests with it upon the same foundation. He determined therefore not to impose any restrictions upon them, and strictly to observe their existing privileges; but to grant them no new ones; to show them no favour; to prevent them from spreading their doctrine, or exercising their mode of worship, in places where they were not privileged; to hold out every encouragement for converting them, and especially to fill the Catholic sees with persons of such learning, piety, and exemplary lives, that their example might tend powerfully to heal the schism which the ignorance and corruption of their predecessors had * occasioned. But Louis learnt to be as little scrupulous in his schemes of conversion as of conquest; success, vanity, evil counsellors, with the possession and the pride of absolute power, hardened his heart; by means of paltry donations he had bought over to the Catholic Church, many of those persons who disparage whatever church they may belong to, and it is said that because of the facility with which such converts were made, he expected to find in the whole body of the French Protestants an easy submission to his will. By one wicked edict he revoked their privileges; and by another of the same day prohibited their public worship, banished their ministers, and decreed that their children should be educated by Roman Catholic priests in

* Œuvres de Louis XIX. Mémoires Historiques, t. i. p. 84—89.

the Roman Catholic faith; the better to ensure obedience he quartered dragoons upon them, and left them to the mercy of his military missionaries. The *Dragonâdes* as they were called were a fit after-piece to the tragedy of St. Bartholomew's day. The number of persons who emigrated in consequence of this execrable persecution, has been variously computed from fifty to five hundred thousand; more meritorious men were never driven from their native country, and every country which afforded them refuge was amply rewarded by their talents, their arts, and their industry. Prussia received a large and most beneficial increase of useful subjects; they multiplied the looms of England, and gave new activity to the trade of Holland. Some of these refugees converted rocks into vineyards on the shores of the Leman Lake, and British Africa is indebted to others for wines, which will one day rival those of the Rhine and the Garonne. Happy were they who thus shook the dust of their native land from their feet; and more would undoubtedly have followed this course, if the most rigorous measures had not been used to prevent emigration. This was consummating the impolicy, and the wickedness * of the measure.

* This manifestation of the real spirit of the Romish Church, contributed greatly to alarm the English people, when James II. attempted to bring them again under its yoke. And it appears from Evelin's Diary that James apprehended this consequence. "One thing was much taken notice of, that the Gazettes, which were still constantly printed twice a week, informing us what was done all over Europe, never spake of this wonderful proceeding in France, nor was any relation of it published by any, save what private letters, and the persecuted fugitives brought. Whence this silence I list not to conjecture; but it appeared very extra-

The number of forced converts in Languedoc, was little short of * 200,000. But in the wilder parts of that province, among the mountains of the Cevennes and the Vivarez, the people took arms, confiding in the strength of the country, and the justice of their cause. M. de Broglie first, then Marshal Villars, and lastly, the Duke of Berwick, were sent against them; roads were opened through the country in every direction, making it every where accessible for artillery; an adequate force was perseveringly employed, little mercy was shown in the field, and such of the leaders as were taken prisoners, were racked and broken on the wheel, or burnt alive. In the history of human crimes, the religious wars of France must ever stand pre-eminent for the ferocity with which both parties were possessed, and this termination was worthy of the spirit with which the persecution was begun and carried through.

More than twenty years elapsed, before such of the Protestants as exercised the right of resistance could be rooted out. During that time, these injured people were in a state resembling that of the Covenanters and Cameronians in Scotland, under the tyranny of Lauderdale. Persecuted like them, till they were driven to madness by persecution, the more they were goaded, the more fiercely they

---

ordinary in a Protestant country, that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffered, whilst great collections were made for them in foreign places, more hospitable and Christian to appearance." Vol. i. 580.

Mémoires de M. de Basville, p. 78.

turned upon their oppressors, and the greater the cruelty which they endured from man, the more confidently they looked for the interference of Heaven. Thus they grew at once fanatical and ferocious. Without rest either for body or mind, living in continual agitation and constant danger, their dreams became vivid as realities, when all realities were frightful as the wildest dreams; delirium was mistaken for inspiration; and the ravings of those who had lost their senses through grief and bodily excitement, were received as prophesies by their fellow sufferers. The Catholic writers of that age, availed themselves of this to bring a scandal upon the Protestant cause; and to account for what so certainly was the consequence of persecution, they propagated one of the most impudent calumnies that ever was produced, even in religious controversy. They asserted that the refugee ministers with Jurieu at their head, held a council at Geneva, in which they agreed to support their cause by means of impious imposture; that they set up a school of prophets, and trained up young persons of both sexes, to repeat the Psalms and other parts of Scripture by heart, and practise contortions and convulsions for public exhibition, in the name of the Spirit of God! How little did these calumniators understand the character of Jurieu, fanatic as he was; and how utterly incapable were they even of conceiving such disinterested and devoted integrity, as that of the ministers whom they slandered.

Such of the wilder fanatics as escaped both the bayonet and the executioner, and found an asylum in Protestant countries, carried with them the disease both of mind and body which their long sufferings had produced. It is well known that persons who have once been thrown into fits by any sudden and violent emotion, are liable to a recurrence upon much slighter causes. In the case of these fugitives the recurrence was more likely to be encouraged than controuled. The display of convulsive movements, and contortions of the body, was found a gainful exhibition; it became voluntary. Though the professors imposed for awhile upon others, as well as upon themselves, it soon degenerated into mere histrionism; and in Holland, in Germany, and in England, the French prophets as they were called, were the scandal of their own church, while they excited the wonder of the ignorant, and preyed upon the credulity of their admirers. They sent deputies to Count Zinzendorf, expressing a desire to unite themselves with the Moravian brethren; he objected to their neglect of the sacrament, to their separating themselves from other congregations, and more especially to the hideous circumstances attending their pretended inspirations. Those who had taken up their abode in England * formed a sect here, and as soon as the Methodists began to attract notice,

* Dr. Stukeley says that a group of tumuli in Wiltshire, was called by the country people the prophets' barrows, "because the French prophets, thirty years ago (1710), set up a standard on the largest, and preached to the multitude." Sir R. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, p. 210.

naturally sought to make converts among a people whom they supposed to be prepared for them. The first of these extravagants with whom Charles Wesley was acquainted, was an English proselyte, residing at Wickham, to whom he was introduced on his way to Oxford, and with whom it seems he was not only to take up his lodging, but to sleep. This gentleman insisted that the French prophets were equal, if not superior to the prophets of the Old Testament. Charles, however, was not aware that his host and chum was himself a gifted personage, till they retired to bed, when as they were undressing, he fell into violent agitations, and gobbled like a turkey-cock. "I was frightened," he says, "and began exorcising him with 'Thou deaf and dumb devil!' He soon recovered from his fit of inspiration. I prayed, and went to bed, not half liking my bed-fellow, nor did I sleep very sound with Satan so near me."

When Wesley soon afterwards met with some of these persons, he was inclined to pronounce them "properly enthusiasts," — "for first" he says, "they think to attain the end without the means, which is enthusiasm properly so called. Again, they think themselves inspired by God, and are not. But false imaginary inspiration is enthusiasm. That their's is only imaginary inspiration appears hence, it contradicts the law and the testimony." After much importunity, he went with four or five of his friends, to a house where a prophetess was entertained: she was about four or five and twenty, and of an agreeable speech and behaviour. When she asked why these visitors came, Wesley replied, "To try the spirits, whether

they be of God." Presently she leant back in her chair, and had strong workings in her breast, and uttered deep sighs. Her head, and her hands, and by turns every part of her body were affected with convulsive motions. This continued about ten minutes; then she began to speak with a clear strong voice, but so interrupted with the workings, sighings, and contortions of her body, that she seldom brought forth half a sentence together. What she said was chiefly in scriptural words, and all as in the person of God, as if it were the language of immediate inspiration. And she exhorted them not to be in haste in judging her spirit, to be or not to be of God; but to wait upon God, and he would teach them, if they conferred not with flesh and blood: and she observed with particular earnestness, that they must watch and pray, and take up their cross, and *be still* before God. Some of the company were much impressed, and believed that she spake by the Spirit; "but this," says Wesley, "was in no wise clear to me. The emotion might be either hysterical or artificial. And the same words any person of a good understanding, and well versed in the Scriptures, might have spoken. But I let the matter alone; knowing this that if it be not of God, it will come to nought."

These people raised warm debates among the Methodists; so that Charles, during his brother's absence, found it prudent to break off a disputation, by exclaiming, "Who is on God's side? Who for the old prophets rather than the new? Let them follow me!" and immediately he led the way into

the preaching room. They had been chiefly successful among the women; when Wesley arrived in London, therefore he warned the female disciples *not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits whether they were of God:* and during the short time of his stay he said, it pleased God to remove many misunderstandings and offences, that had crept in among them, and to restore in good measure the spirit of love and of a sound mind."

But on his return to Bristol, the French prophets had been there also, and he says it is scarce credible what an advantage Satan had gained, during his absence of only eight days. *Woe unto the prophets, saith the Lord, who prophesy in my name, and I have not sent them!* Who were the teachers against whom this denunciation is levelled, he endeavoured to point out; and exhorted his followers, "to avoid as fire all who do not speak according to the law and the testimony." He told them, "they were not to judge of the spirit whereby any one spake, either by appearances, by common report, or by their own inward feelings. No, nor by any dreams, visions, or revelations, supposed to be made to their souls, any more than by their tears, or any involuntary effects wrought upon their bodies." He warned them, "that all these were in themselves of a doubtful disputable nature; they might be from God, and they might not: and therefore they were not simply to be relied on, (any more than simply to be condemned,) but to be tried by a farther rule, to be brought to the only certain test, the law and the testimony." While he was speak-

ing, one of his hearers dropt down, and in the course of half an hour, seven others in violent agonies, "*the pains as of hell,*" he says, "*came about them;*" but notwithstanding his own reasoning, neither he nor his auditors called in question the divine origin of these emotions, and they went away rejoicing and praising God. Whenever he now preached, the same effects were produced; some of the people were always "cut to the heart;" they were "seized with strong pangs," they "terribly felt the wrath of God abiding on them," they were "constrained to roar aloud, while the sword of the Spirit was *dividing asunder their souls, and spirits, and joints, and marrow.*" These effects had never as yet been produced under Whitefield's preaching, though they now followed Wesley wherever he went; and it appears that Whitefield, who came once more to Bristol at this time, considered them as doubtful indications, at least, and by no means to be encouraged. But no sooner had he begun to preach before a congregation, among whom these "outward signs," had previously taken place, and who therefore were prepared for the affection by their state of mind, as fear in times of pestilence, predisposes the body for receiving the contagion, than four persons were seized almost at the same moment, and sunk down close by him. This was a great triumph to Wesley. "From this time," he says, "I trust, we shall all suffer God to carry on his own work in the way that pleaseth him." Whitefield, however, seems rather to have been perplexed by the occurrence than satisfied;

for he makes no mention of it in his journal, which assuredly he would have done, had he been convinced with Wesley, that these fits were the immediate work of God.

Another of his coadjutors, who had seen none of these outward signs, thought that examples of similar affections were found in Scripture; but the cases of those who struggled as in the agonies of death, and of a woman who was so convulsed as that four or five strong men could hardly restrain her from hurting herself or others, appeared to him inexplicable, unless it resembled the case of the child of whom the Evangelists say, that the devil threw him down and tare him. "What influence," says this writer, "sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon the body, I pretend not to explain. But I make no question, Satan so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to hinder the good work in the persons who are thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to disparage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction. However the merciful issue of these conflicts, in the conversion of the persons thus affected is the main thing."

This latter point was placed in its true light by Samuel Wesley. "You yourself," he says to his brother John, "doubted at first, and enquired and examined about the extacies; the matter is not therefore so plain as motion to a man walking. But I have my own reason, as well as your own authority, against the exceeding clearness of divine interposition there. Your followers fall into

agonies. I confess it. — They are freed from them after you have prayed over them. Granted. — They say it is God's doing. I own they say so. — Dear Brother! where is your ocular demonstration? Where indeed is the rational proof? Their living well afterwards may be a probable and sufficient argument that they believe themselves; but it goes no farther."

"I must ask," he continues, "a few more questions. Did these agitations ever begin during the use of any collects of the Church? Or during the preaching of any sermon, that had before been preached within consecrated walls without that effect? Or during the inculcating any other doctrine, besides that of your New Birth? Are the main body of these agents or patients, good sort of people before hand, or loose and immoral?" While the elder brother reasoned thus sanely against the extravagancies which Wesley encouraged, he cordially rejoiced with him in the real good which was done. "I wish you could build not only a school," he says, "but a church too for the colliers, if there is not any place at present where they can meet; and I should rejoice heartily to have it endowed, though Mr. Whitefield were to be the minister of it, provided the Bishop fully joined." But he saw to what this course was leading. "Your distinction," he says, "between the discipline and doctrine of the church is, I think, not quite pertinent; for surely episcopacy is matter of doctrine too: but granting it otherwise, you know there is no fear of being cast out of our syna-

gogue for any tenets whatever. Did not Clarke die preferred? Were not Collins and Coward free from anathema? Are not Chubb and Gordon now caressed? My knowledge of this makes me suspect Whitefield as if he designed to provoke persecution by his bodings of it. He has already personally disobliged the Bishops of Gloucester and London, and doubtless will do as much by all the rest, if they fall not down before his whimsies, and should offer to stand in his way. Now, if he by his madness should lay himself open to the small remains of discipline amongst us, (as by marrying without licence or any other way) and get excommunicated for his pains, I am very apprehensive you would still stick to him as your dear brother; and so though the church would not excommunicate you, you would excommunicate the church."

But Wesley had already set the discipline of the church at defiance. Harvey, his pupil formerly, and one of his first disciples at Oxford, expostulated with him on the irregularity of his conduct, and advised him either to settle in College, or to accept a cure of souls. He replied, that he had no business in College, having no office there and no pupils; and that it would be time enough to consider whether it were expedient to accept a cure, when one should be offered to him. "In the mean time," he says, "you think I ought to be still, because otherwise I should invade another's office; you accordingly ask how is it that I assemble Christians who are none of my charge, to sing psalms and pray, and hear the Scriptures ex-

pounded; and you think it hard to justify doing this in other men's parishes upon Catholic principles. Permit me to speak plainly; if by Catholic principles, you mean any other than scriptural, they weigh nothing with me; I allow no other rule, whether of faith or practice, than the Holy Scriptures." Harvey had objected to him, that by this conduct he brought a reproach upon himself which diminished his power of doing good. To this Wesley replied exultingly, "I will put you in mind, (though you once knew this, yea and much established me in that great truth,) the more evil men say of me for my Lord's sake, the more good He will do by me. That it is for His sake I know, and He knoweth, and the event agreeth thereto; for He mightily confirms the words I speak by the Holy Ghost given unto those that hear them. O my friend, my heart is moved towards you! I fear you have herein made shipwreck of the faith! I fear Satan, transformed into an angel of light, hath assaulted you, and prevailed also! I fear that offspring of hell, worldly or mystic prudence, has drawn you away from the simplicity of the gospel! How else could you ever conceive, that the being reviled and *hated of all men* should make us less fit for our Master's service? How else could you ever think of *saving yourself and them that hear you*, without being *the filth and offscouring of the world?* To this hour is the Scripture true; and I therein rejoice, yea and will rejoice. Blessed be God, I enjoy the reproach of Christ! Oh, may you also be vile, exceeding vile for His sake! God for-

bid that you should ever be other than generally scandalous, I had almost said universally. If any man tell you there is a new way of following Christ, *he is a liar, and the truth is not in him.*"

It was a natural consequence of this temper of mind that he should disregard any ecclesiastical authority which attempted to interfere with his course of conduct. The Bishop of Bristol, after a conversation in which Wesley had confirmed to him the fact that people were thrown into fits at his meetings, and that he prayed over them and his prayer was often heard, desired him to quit his diocese, where he was not commissioned to preach, and consequently had no business. Wesley replied, "My business on earth is to do what good I can: wherever, therefore, I think I can do most good, there must I stay so long as I think so; at present I think I can do most good here, therefore here I stay: being ordained as Fellow of a College, I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission to preach the word of God in any part of the Church of England. I do not, therefore, conceive that in preaching here by this commission, I break any human law. When I am convinced I do, then it will be time to ask 'shall I obey God or man?' But if I should be convinced in the mean while, that I could advance the glory of God and the salvation of souls in any other place more than in Bristol, in that hour, by God's help, I will go hence; which till then I may not do."

Yet while he thus set at nought the authority of the Bishop, he would have revived a practice which had fallen into disuse throughout all the reformed churches, as being little congenial to the spirit of the Reformation. The society at Bristol passed a resolution that all the members should obey the Church to which they belonged, by observing all Fridays in the year as days of fasting or abstinence; and they agreed that as many as had opportunity should meet on that day and spend an hour together in prayer. This probably gave currency, if it did not occasion, a report which now prevailed that he was a Papist, if not a Jesuit. This report, he affirms, was begun by persons who were either bigotted Dissenters, or Clergymen; and they spoke either in gross ignorance, not understanding what the principles of Popery were, or in wilful falsehood, thinking to serve their own cause. "Now take this to yourselves," he says, "whosoever ye are, high or low, Dissenters or Churchmen, clergy or laity, who have advanced this shameless charge, and digest it how you can!" "O ye fools," he exclaims, "when will ye understand that the preaching justification by faith alone, the allowing no meritorious cause of justification, but the death and the righteousness of Christ, and no conditional or instrumental cause but faith, is overturning Popery from the foundation? When will ye understand that the most destructive of all those errors which Rome, the mother of abominations, hath brought forth (compared to which transubstantiation and a hun-

dred more, are trifles light as air,) is *that we are justified by works*, or (to express the same thing a little more decently) by faith and works. Now, do I preach this? I did for ten years: I was fundamentally a Papist and knew it not. But I do now testify to all (and it is the very point for asserting which I have to this day been called in question,) that *no good works can be done before justification, none which have not in them the nature of sin.*" This doctrine, however, was not preached in all the naked absurdity of its consequences.

Charles Wesley, who was now pursuing the course of itinerant preaching which Whitefield had begun, joined his brother at Bristol about this time; and it so happens that the manner of his preaching and the method which was observed in their meetings, are described by one whom curiosity and a religious temper led to hear him in a field near the city. "I found him," says this person, "standing on a table board in an erect posture, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven in prayer: he prayed with uncommon fervour, fluency, and variety of proper expressions. He then preached about an hour in such a manner as I scarce ever heard any man preach: though I have heard many a finer sermon, according to the common taste or acceptation of sermons, I never heard any man discover such evident signs of a vehement desire, or labour so earnestly to convince his hearers that they were all by nature in a sinful, lost, undone state. He showed how great a change a faith in Christ would produce in the whole man, and that every man who

is in Christ, that is who believes in him unto salvation, is a new creature. Nor did he fail to press how ineffectual their faith would be to justify them unless it wrought by love, purified their hearts, and was productive of good works. With uncommon fervour he acquitted himself as an ambassador of Christ, beseeching them in his name, and praying them in his stead to be reconciled to God. And although he used no notes, nor had any thing in his hand but a Bible, yet he delivered his thoughts in a rich, copious variety of expression, and with so much propriety, that I could not observe any thing incoherent or inanimate through the whole performance."

This person, whose name was Joseph * Williams, was a dissenter of Kidderminster; and having been accustomed to a dry and formal manner of preaching, he was the more impressed by the eloquence of one whose mind was enriched by cultivation as well as heated with devotion. His account of the meeting in the evening is more curious. The room was thronged; but in the middle there was a convenient place provided for the minister to stand or sit on. They sung a hymn before he came, but broke it off on his appearing; and he expounded part of a chapter of St. John in what Mr. Williams calls a most sweet, savoury, spiritual manner. This was followed by another hymn, that by more expounding, and that again by more singing: Wesley

* Charles Wesley says of this Mr. Williams in his journal, "I know not of what denomination he is, nor is it material; for he has the mind which was in Christ."

then prayed over a great number of bills which were put up by the society, about twenty of which respected spiritual cases, and he concluded with a blessing. The whole service took up nearly two hours. "But never sure," says Williams, "did I hear such praying; never did I see or hear such evident marks of fervency in the service of God. At the close of every petition a serious Amen, like a gentle rushing sound of waters, ran through the whole audience, with such a solemn air as quite distinguished it from whatever of that nature I have heard attending the responses in the Church service. If there be such a thing as heavenly music upon earth I heard it there. If there be such an enjoyment, such an attainment as Heaven upon earth, numbers in that society seemed to possess it. As for my own part, I do not remember my heart to have been so elevated in divine love and praise as it was there and then, for many years past, if ever; and an affecting sense and savour thereof abode in my mind many weeks after."

This good man would not have thus spoken with unqualified approbation, had he been present at any more violent exhibition. But the "outward signs" about this time were for a while suspended; the more susceptible subjects had gone through the disease, and the symptoms which it assumed in others were such as would awaken horror in the beholders rather than excite in them any desire of going through the same initiation. "Many," says Wesley, "were deeply convinced, but none

were delivered from that painful conviction. *The children came to the birth, but there was not strength to bring forth.* I fear we have grieved the Spirit of the jealous God by questioning his work, and that, therefore, he is withdrawn from us for a season." He now returned to London, and preached triumphantly at Whitefield's favourite stations—Moorfields and Kennington Common. But his greatest triumph was in finding that his mother at length acquiesced in the whole of his proceedings. She told him that till lately she had scarce heard of a present forgiveness of sins, or of God's Spirit bearing witness with our spirit; much less had she imagined that it was the common privilege of all true believers, and therefore she had never dared ask it for herself. But recently when her son-in-law Hall, in delivering the cup to her, pronounced these words, *the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee*, the words struck through her heart, and she then knew that for Christ's sake God had forgiven her all her sins. Wesley asked whether his father had not the same faith, and whether he had not preached it to others. She replied, he had it himself, and declared, a little before his death, he had no darkness, no fear, no doubt of his salvation; but that she did not remember to have heard him preach upon it explicitly; and therefore supposed that he regarded it as the peculiar blessing of a few, not as promised to all the people of God. Mrs. Wesley was then seventy years of age; and this account may induce a reasonable suspicion that her powers

of mind must have been impaired; she would not else have supposed that any other faith or degree of faith was necessary, than that in which her husband had lived and died. It is wisely, as well as eloquently said by Fuller the Worthy, in one of his sermons, "Of such as deny that formerly we had in our churches all truth necessary to salvation, I ask Joseph's question to his brethren, *Is your father well? the old man—is he yet alive?* So, how fare the souls of their sires, and the ghosts of their grandfathers? are they yet alive? do they still survive in bliss, in happiness? Oh no! they are dead; dead in soul, dead in body, dead temporally, dead eternally, dead and damned, if so be we had not all truth necessary to salvation before their time."

This was a great affliction to her son Samuel. He wrote to her, "It was with exceeding concern and grief I heard you had countenanced a spreading delusion, so far as to be one of Jack's congregation. Is it not enough that I am bereft of both my brothers, but must my mother follow too? I earnestly beseech the Almighty to preserve you from joining a schism at the close of your life, as you were unfortunately engaged in one at the beginning of it. They boast of you already as a disciple. Charles has told John Bentham that I do not differ much, if we understand one another. I am afraid I must be forced to advertise, such is their apprehension, or their charity. But they design separation. Things will take their natural course, without an especial interposition of Providence. They are already forbid all the pulpits

in London, and to preach in that diocese is actual schism. In all likelihood it will come to the same all over England, if the Bishops have courage enough. They leave off the liturgy in the fields: though Mr. Whitefield expresses his value for it, he never once read it to his tatterdemalions on a common. Their societies are sufficient to dissolve all other societies but their own: will any man of common sense or spirit suffer any domestic to be in a bond engaged to relate every thing without reserve to five or ten people, that concerns the person's conscience, how much soever it may concern the family? Ought any married persons to be there, unless husband and wife be there together? This is literally putting asunder whom God hath joined together. As I told Jack, I am not afraid the church should excommunicate him, discipline is at too low an ebb; but that he should excommunicate the church. It is pretty near it. Holiness and good works are not so much as *conditions* of our acceptance with God. Love-feasts are introduced, and extemporary prayers and expositions of Scripture, which last are enough to bring in all confusion: nor is it likely they will want any miracles to support them. He only can stop them from being a formed sect, in a very little time, who *ruleth the madness of the people.* Ecclesiastical censures have lost their terrors, thank fanaticism on the one hand and atheism on the other. To talk of persecution therefore from thence is mere insult. Poor Brown who gave name and rise to the first separatists, though he repented every

vein of his heart, could never undo the mischief he had done."

Samuel Wesley* died within three weeks after the date of this letter; and John says in his journal, "We could not but rejoice at hearing from one who had attended my brother in all his weakness, that several days before he went hence, God had given him a calm and full assurance of his interest in Christ. Oh! may every one who opposes it be thus† convinced that this doctrine is of God!" Wesley cannot be suspected of intentional deceit: yet who is there who upon reading this passage would suppose that Samuel had died after an illness of four hours?—well might he protest against the apprehension or the charity of those who were so eager to hold him up to the world as their convert. The state of mind which this good man enjoyed had nothing in common with the extravagant doctrine of assurance which his brothers were preaching with such vehemence during the ebullition of their enthusiasm; it was the sure and

* In the History of Dissenters by David Bogue and James Bennett, (vol. iii. p. 9.) Samuel Wesley is called "a worldly priest, who hated all pretence to more religion than our neighbours, as an infallible mark of a dissenter!!" The amiable spirit which is displayed in this sentence, its liberality, its charity, and its regard to truth, require no comment.

† This passage may probably have been the cause of the breach between John Wesley and his brother's family, and to that breach the preservation of Samuel's letters is owing. Wesley was very desirous of getting the whole correspondence into his possession, "but the daughter and grand-daughter of Samuel being offended at his conduct, would never deliver them to him. It was taken for granted that he would have suppressed them. They gave them to Mr. Badcock with a view to their publication after Wesley's death, and Badcock dying before then, gave them to Dr. Priestley with the same intent."

certain hope of a sincere and humble Christian who trusted in the merits of his Saviour, and the mercy of his God. He died as he had lived, in that essential faith which has been common to all Christians in all ages;—that faith wherein he had been trained up, which had been rooted in him by a sound education, and confirmed by diligent study, and by his own ripe judgement. And to that faith Wesley himself imperceptibly returned as time and experience taught him to correct his aberrations. In his old age he said to Mr. Melville Horne these memorable words: "When fifty years ago my brother Charles and I, in the simplicity of our hearts, told the good people of England, that unless they *knew* their sins were forgiven, they were under the wrath and curse of God, I marvel, Melville, they did not stone us! The Methodists, I hope, know better now: we preach assurance as we always did, as a common privilege of the children of God; but we do not enforce it, under the pain of damnation, denounced on all who enjoy it not."

At this time Wesley believed that he differed in no point from the Church of England, but preached her fundamental doctrines, as they were clearly laid down, both in her prayers, articles, and homilies. But from those clergy who in reality dissented from the church, though they owned it not, he differed, he said, in these points: they spoke of justification either as the same thing with sanctification, or as something consequent upon it; he believed justification to be wholly distinct from

sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it. The difference would have been of little consequence had it consisted only in this logomachy: how many thousand and ten thousand Christians have taken, and will take, the right course to heaven, without understanding, thinking, or perhaps hearing of these terms, but satisfied with the hope, and safe in the promise of their salvation! They spake of our own holiness or good works, he said, as the cause of our justification: he believed that the death and righteousness of Christ were the whole and sole cause. They spake of good works as a condition of justification, necessarily previous to it: he believed no good work could be previous to it, and consequently could not be a condition of it; "but that we are justified (being till that hour ungodly, and therefore incapable of doing any good work) by faith alone—faith without works—faith including no good work though it produces all." They spake of sanctification as if it were an outward thing, which consisted in doing no harm, and in doing what is called good: he believed that it was *the life of God in the soul of man; a participation of the divine nature; the mind that was in Christ; the renewal of our heart after the image of him that created us.* They spake of the *new birth* as an outward thing; as if it were no more than baptism, or at most a change from a vicious to what is called a virtuous life; he believed that it was an entire change of our inmost nature, from the image of the devil wherein we are born, to the image of God. "There is, therefore," he says, "a wide,

essential, fundamental, irreconcileable difference between us; so that if they speak the truth as it is in Jesus, I am found a false witness before God; but if I teach the way of God in truth, they are blind leaders of the blind." But where learnt he this exaggerated and monstrous notion of the innate depravity of man? and who taught him that man, who was created in the image of his Maker, was depraved into an image of the devil at birth? assuredly not He who said, *Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.*

True old Christianity, he tells us, was now every where spoken against, under the new name of Methodism. In reality, the good which Methodism might produce was doubtful, for there had been no time as yet to prove the stability of its converts; and it was, moreover, from its very nature, private, while the excesses and extravagances of the sect were public and notorious. Samuel Wesley, when he said that miracles would not be wanting to support them, foresaw as clearly what would be the natural progress of these things, as he did their certain tendency and inevitable end. Wesley was fully satisfied that the paroxysms which he caused in his hearers by his preaching, were relieved by his prayers; it was easy after this to persuade himself that he, and such of his disciples as had faith like him, could heal diseases and cast out devils. Accordingly he relates the case of a mad woman, as a fresh proof that *whatsoever ye shall ask, believing, ye shall receive.* This person

had been so decidedly frantic, that it was necessary to fasten her down in her bed; "but upon prayer made for her, she was instantly relieved and restored to a sound mind." The manner in which some persons were tormented perplexed Wesley for a while, and gave him some concern:—he suspected craziness, where imposture might have better explained the symptoms; but having recourse to bibliomancy to know what would be the issue of these things, he was satisfied by lighting upon a text, which certainly was never more unworthily applied—*Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.* Thus deluding himself, when he was sent for to one of these women (for the persons who acted the part of demoniacs, or who mistook hysterical feelings for possession, were generally females), he prayed God to bruise Satan under his feet, and the patient immediately cried out vehemently, He is gone—he is gone! More violent instances occurred in Bristol and Kingswood; and disgusting though they are, they are of too much importance in the history of Wesley and of Methodism, to be passed over in silence, or slightly to be noticed. Returning from Kingswood one evening, he was exceedingly pressed to go back to a young woman. "The fact," he says, "I nakedly relate, and leave every man to his own judgement of it. I went. She was nineteen or twenty years old, but could not write or read. I found her on the bed, two or three persons holding her. It was a terrible sight. Anguish, horror, and despair above all description appeared

in her pale face. The thousand distortions of her whole body shewed how the dogs of hell were gnawing at her heart. The shrieks intermixed were scarce to be endured; but her stony eyes could not weep. She screamed out, as words could find their way, 'I am damned, damned; lost for ever! Six days ago you might have helped me; but it is past—I am the Devil's now—I have given myself to him—his I am—him I must serve—with him I must go to hell—I will be his—I will serve him—I will go with him to hell—I cannot be saved—I will not be saved—I must, I will, I will be damned!' She then began praying to the Devil: we began, 'Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!' She immediately sunk down as asleep; but as soon as we left off, broke out again with inexpressible vehemence. 'Stony hearts, break! I am a warning to you. Break, break, poor stony hearts! Will you not break? What can be done more for stony hearts? I am damned that you may be saved! Now break, now break, poor stony hearts! You need not be damned, though I must.' She then fixed her eyes on the corner of the ceiling, and said, 'There he is! aye, there he is! Come, good Devil, come! Take me away! You said you would dash my brains out: come, do it quickly! I am yours—I will be yours! take me away!' We interrupted her by calling again upon God: on which she sunk down as before, and another young woman began to roar as loud as she had done. My brother now came in, it being about nine o'clock. We continued in prayer till past eleven, when God, in a moment,

spoke peace into the soul; first, of the first-tormented, and then of the other; and they both joined in singing praise to Him who had stilled the enemy and the avenger."

In these words Wesley describes this hideous scene of frenzy and fanaticism, eager to proclaim it as a manifestation of his power, instead of seeking to prevent the repetition of such ravings. The fits and convulsions which had lately been so frequent, were now suspended, and this new description of outward signs took its course,—a more suspicious description, as well as more scandalous and more shocking. On the second day after the case in Kingswood, Wesley was called to a woman whom he found lying on the ground, sometimes gnashing her teeth, sometimes roaring and struggling with such force, especially when the name of Jesus was named, that three or four persons could scarcely hold her. She had been in this condition during the whole night. After they had prayed over her, the violence of her symptoms was abated: he left her, but was again summoned in the course of the evening. "I was unwilling," he says, "indeed afraid to go, thinking it would not avail, unless some who were strong in faith were to wrestle with God for her. I opened my Testament on those words, *I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth.* I stood reproved, and went immediately. She began screaming before I came into the room; then broke out into a horrid laughter, mixed with blasphemy, grievous to hear. One who, from many circumstances, ap-

prehended a preternatural agent to be concerned in this, asking, 'How didst thou dare to enter into a Christian?' was answered, 'She is not a Christian; she is mine.' 'Dost thou not tremble at the name of Jesus?' he asked. No words followed; but she shrunk back, and trembled exceedingly. 'Art thou not increasing thy own damnation?' It was faintly answered, 'Aye, aye!' which was followed by fresh cursing and blaspheming. My brother coming in, she cried out, 'Preacher! Field-preacher! I do not love field-preaching.' This was repeated two hours together, with spitting, and all the expressions of strong aversion. We left her at twelve, but called again about noon the next day; and now it was that God showed he heareth prayer. 'All her pangs ceased in a moment. She was filled with peace, and knew that the son of wickedness was departed from her."

If Wesley himself were the questioner in this dialogue with the supposed devil, the woman acted her part readily: if she were interrogated by any other person, the scene bears strong marks of having been prepared; for that some of his followers were now beginning to get up exhibitions of this kind, is made probable by the next cases which he has recorded. Being called in to another female demoniac at Kingswood, he set out on horseback. It rained heavily, and the woman, when he was three miles off, cried out, "Yonder comes Wesley, galloping as fast as he can;" a circumstance which it certainly required no aid from the devil to foresee. The ordinary symptoms ap-

peared; and one who was clearly convinced that this was no natural disorder, said, "I think Satan is let loose; I fear he will not stop here!" and added, "I command thee, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to tell if thou hast commission to torment any other soul." It was immediately answered, "I have;" and two women were named, who were at some distance, and in perfect health: If this was repeated to the women, which probably it would be, it might easily frighten them into a fit, prepared as they already were by Methodism. Wesley called the next evening at a house where he found them both, and presently both were in agonies. The violent convulsions all over their bodies are said by Wesley to be such as 'words cannot describe, and their cries and groans too horrid to be borne, till one of them, *in a tone not to be expressed*, said, 'Where is your faith now? Come, go to prayers! I will pray with you. Our Father which art in heaven!' We took the advice, *from whomsoever it came*, and poured out our souls before God, till L——y C———r's agonies so increased, that it seemed she was in the pangs of death. But in a moment God spoke; she knew his voice, and both her body and soul were healed. We continued in prayer till near one, when S——y J———s's voice was also changed, and she began strongly to call upon God. This she did for the greatest part of the night. In the morning we renewed our prayers, whilst she was crying continually, 'I burn! I burn! Oh, what

shall I do! I have a fire within me—I cannot bear it. Lord Jesus help!"

Charles was not so credulous in such cases as his brother. That the body would sometimes partake of the violent emotions of the soul, and sink under the passion which the preacher had raised he could not doubt, because it often occurred under his own eyes to persons whose sincerity could not be impeached; but he saw that this was not always involuntary, he frequently attempted to check it with success, and he sometimes detected imposition. A woman at Kingswood was distorting herself and crying out loudly while he preached; she became quite calm when he assured her that he did not think the better of her for it. A girl at Bristol being questioned judiciously concerning her frequent fits and trances, confessed that what she did was for the purpose of making Mr. Wesley take notice of her.

"To-day," he says in his journal, "one came who was pleased to fall into a fit for my entertainment. He beat himself heartily: I thought it a pity to hinder him; so instead of singing over him as had often been done, we left him to recover at his leisure. A girl as she began her cry, I ordered to be carried out: her convulsions were so violent as to take away the use of her limbs till they laid her without at the door, and left her; then she immediately found her legs and walked off. Some very unstill sisters, who always took care to stand near me and tried who could cry loudest, since I have had them removed out of my sight, have

been as quiet as lambs. The first night I preached here, half my words were lost through the noise of their outcries; last night before I began, I gave public notice that whosoever cried so as to drown my voice, should without any man's hurting or judging them, be gently carried to the farthest corner of the room: but my porters had no employment the whole night."

CHAPTER IX.

WESLEY'S VIEWS.—STATE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND.

WESLEY had now proposed to himself a clear and determinate object. What had from time to time been effected in the monastic families of the Romish establishment, when the laws of those institutions were relaxed and the spirit had evaporated, he wished to do upon a wider theatre and with a nobler purpose. He hoped to give a new impulse to the Church of England, to awaken its dormant zeal, infuse life into a body where nothing but life was wanting, and lead the way to the performance of duties which the State had blindly overlooked, and the Church had scandalously neglected: thus would he become the author of a second Reformation, whereby all that had been left undone in the former would be completed. And here it will be convenient to look back upon the causes and circumstances which prepared the way for him, and made it desirable, even according to human perceptions, that such an agent in the moral world should be raised up. This will be rendered more intelligible by a brief retrospect of the religious history of England.

Christianity at its beginning was preached to the poor, and during the first centuries gradually made

its way up; yet even then it was the religion of towns and cities, so that after its triumph was established the same word came at length to signify a villager and a heathen. When the Roman empire was broken up, the work of conversion, especially in these northern countries, was to begin again; the missionaries then looked for proselytes in courts, they converted queens and kings who had good political reasons for accepting their instructions, and Christianity made its way down. Intellect was never more beneficially employed, and never obtained a more signal triumph. Bloody idolatries were overthrown; all that remained of literature and of science was rescued from destruction; and the comforts, arts and elegancies of social and refined life were introduced among the humanized barbarians. Miracles have been largely invented to exaggerate the wonder of a change which not improbably was sometimes promoted by fraud; still it is a beautiful part of the annals of mankind. The great actors have been magnified into demi-gods by their own church, but they have been, not less unduly, consigned to neglect and forgetfulness in ours; for if ever men were entitled to the lasting gratitude and admiration of those for whom they lived and laboured, these are they.

The conversion of Britain had not been completed when the island ceased to be a part of the Roman empire. There can be little doubt that the Roman idolatry was still subsisting: the Picts were apparently an unconverted tribe of indigenous savages, still tattooed and woaded; and it is certain

that the Druidical superstitions were cherished in a later age. After the Saxons had become a Christian people, a fresh flood of heathenism came in with the Danes; and from the time of Alfred there existed a heathen party in the country, which continued sometimes in strength and always in hope, till the Conquest; after that time it received no recruits from Scandinavia, and therefore it disappeared; but it may rather be said to have died away for want of support, than to have been eradicated by the care of the government, or the exertions of the clergy.

During the first centuries of the Saxon church there were no parochial divisions. The clergy resided in episcopal monasteries under the superintendence of the bishop as they had been brought up; they were sent from thence to instruct the country people and administer the offices of religion in the few churches which existed, or where there was no church at a cross in the open air; when they had executed their commission they returned, and others went out to perform the same course of duty. The means of instruction were few and precarious under such a system, and those lords who were desirous of having spiritual aid always at hand for themselves, or who saw the advantage of having their vassals trained in a faith which inculcated obedience, industry, patience and contentment, built churches and endowed them for the maintenance of a resident priest. The bishops promoted such establishments: parishes were thus formed which were usually co-extensive with the

domain of the patron, and as these became general, the system of itinerancy fell into disuse. The alteration was well intended, and has produced great good; yet it may have contributed in no slight degree to that decay of knowledge and dissoluteness of life which are known after this time to have ensued among the Saxon clergy. They were removed from the eye of authority, from the opportunities of learning, and from the society of their equals.

The Norman conquest produced more good than evil by bringing our Church into a closer connection with Rome, for the light of the world was there,—dim indeed and offuscated, untrimmed and wavering in the socket, but living and burning still. A fairer ideal of Utopian policy can scarcely be contemplated than the papal scheme, if it could be regarded apart from the abuses, the frauds, and the crimes to which it has given birth. An empire was to be erected, not of force but of intellect, which should bind together all nations in the unity of faith, and in the bond of peace. Its members were to direct the councils of princes and the consciences of all men; for this purpose they were chosen from the rest of mankind in early youth, and trained accordingly, or they volunteered in maturer life when weaned from the world and weary of its vanities. They were relieved by a liberal provision from any care for their own support; the obligation of celibacy precluded those prudential anxieties which might otherwise have employed too large a portion of their time and of

their thoughts, or have interfered in any way with that service to which they were devoted; and they were exempted from the secular power, that they might discharge their religious duty freely and without fear. By the wise and admirable institution of tythes, a tenth part of all property was rescued from the ordinary course of descent in which it would else have been absorbed, and formed into an ample establishment for the members of this intellectual aristocracy, in their different degrees. He who entered the church, possessing the requisite knowledge, ability, and discretion, however humble his birth, might aspire to wealth, rank, and honours which would make the haughtiest barons acknowledge him for their peer, and to authority before which kings trembled, and against which emperors struggled in vain.

Let us confess that human ambition never proposed to itself a grander aim, and that all other schemes of empire for which mankind have bled appear mean and contemptible when compared to this magnificent conception. And much was accomplished for which all succeeding ages have reason to be grateful. For by their union with Rome (and that union could only be preserved by their dependence) the distant churches were saved from sinking into a state of utter ignorance and degradation like that of the Abyssinians or Armenians; Christendom, because of this union, was more than a name; and therefore, notwithstanding its internal divisions and dissensions, on the great occasion when its vital interests were at stake, felt

that it had one heart, one life, and acted with one impulse. Had it not been for the crusades Mahommedanism would have barbarized the world. And had it not been for the elevation of the clerical character, Christendom itself would have continued in a state of barbarism, and even retrograded farther; for birth would have been the only distinction, and arms the only honourable pursuit.

The Church could not have effected all this good, if it had not employed means which have been too indiscriminately condemned. A religion of rites and ceremonies was as necessary for the rude and ferocious nations which overthrew the Roman empire, as for the Israelites when they were brought out of Egypt. Pomp, and wealth, and authority were essential for its success. Through these it triumphed, but by these it was corrupted; for they brought it into too close an union with the world. These temptations drew into its ranks men who disgraced by their vices the high offices which they obtained by their birth. The celibacy of the clergy was another cause of corruption. When persecution under the heathen emperors was to be braved, or the preachers of the gospel were to expose themselves to the caprice and cruelty of barbarous idolaters, it was desireable that they should hold their lives loose, and, as far as possible, keep themselves disengaged from earth. But the imposition of celibacy upon all the ministers of the Church, was unauthorised by the letter of Scripture, and contrary to its spirit, and in its general consequences beyond all doubt detrimental to

public morals. By a system of confession, favourable indeed to its ambitious views, but still more injurious to * morality, the Church intruded upon the sacredness of private life. It disguised the sublime and salutary truths of revelation beneath a mass of fables more gross and monstrous than the very Heathens had feigned; and arrogating to itself the power of forgiving sins, it substituted, in the place of Christian duties, a routine of practices borrowed from the Manichæans, Pagans of every kind, and even the Mahommedans; and established it as a † principle, that by these worthless works a man might not only secure salvation for himself, but accumulate a stock of surplus merits, which were disposable by gift or sale. Men were easily persuaded, that as the merit of good works might be bought, so might the account for evil ones be settled by pecuniary payment, and the rich be their own redeemers. Every thing on earth had long been venal, and the scheme of corruption was completed, by putting the kingdom of heaven at a price. Yet was this whole system well adapted

* *La nature avoit posé deux barrières, pour maintenir la chasteté chez les femmes, la pudeur et les remords: le prêtre les anéantit toutes les deux, par la confession et l'absolution.* (Maranda, Tableau du Piemont). St. Evremond observes, that the Protestant religion is as favourable to husbands, as the Catholic is to what he calls lovers.

† "Learn," says Bishop Burnet, "to view Popery in a true light, as a conspiracy to exalt the power of the clergy, even by subjecting the most sacred truths of religion to contrivances for raising their authority, and by offering to the world another method of being saved, besides that presented in the Gospel. Popery is a mass of impostures, supported by men who manage them with great advantages, and impose them with inexpressible severities on those who dare call any thing in question that they dictate to them."

to the ignorance upon which it rested, and which it tended to perpetuate. Its symbols were everywhere before the eyes of the people, and its practices dexterously interwoven with the daily business of life. While it lulled the conscience, it possessed the imagination and the heart. The Church was like a garden, in which things rank and gross in nature were running to seed; but they did not possess it wholly; it still produced beautiful flowers, and wholesome herbs and fruit.

When the abuses were most flagrant, and a spirit of enquiry had arisen with the restoration of letters, wise men would have weeded the garden, but rash ones were for going to work with the plough and the harrow. What was to be expected from the spirit which had gone abroad had been shown by the conduct of the Lollards in England, and more manifestly in Bohemia, by the bloody drama of the Hussite war. The most sagacious and even-minded men of the age, such as Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, in their fear of religious revolution, and the inevitable evils which it would draw on, opposed the reform, which, but for that foresight, they would have desired and promoted. In this country the best people and the worst combined in bringing about the Reformation, and in its progress it bore evident marks of both. The business of demolition was successfully carried on by zealots, who lent their ignorant hands to aggrandize and enrich the rapacious and the * unprincipled; but the

* "The untimely end of that good prince King Edward," says Burnet in the supplementary volume to his history (P. 216), "was looked

fathers of the English Church were not permitted to complete the edifice which they would have raised from the ruins.

The lay impropriations, which are perhaps the best bulwarks of the Church in our distempered age, were, for a long time after the Reformation, a sore and scandalous evil. Where the monasteries had appropriated a benefice, they could always provide a fit preacher: and though they have been charged with giving scanty stipends to ignorant incumbents, and thus contributing greatly to the decay of learning, the justice of the accusation may be questioned. For though their object in obtaining these impropriations was that they might indulge in larger expenses, all those expenses were not unworthy ones, and it would be easy to show that literature must have gained more than it could possibly have lost by the transfer. But when, at the dissolution of the monasteries, their property was distributed among those who possessed favour or interest at Court, and, as was proverbially said, Popish lands made Protestant landlords, the consequences of that abominable robbery were soon perceived. Men who had en-

upon by all people as a just judgement of God upon those who pretended to love and promote a reformation, but whose impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdness in which many lived, without shame or remorse, gave great occasion to their adversaries to say they were in the right to assert justification by faith without works, since they were, as to every good work, reprobate. Their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying any part of it to the promoting the gospel, the instructing the youth, and relieving the poor, made all people conclude, that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active."

riched themselves by sacrilege supported the new establishment, because it warranted their ill-gotten estates: their conduct evinced that they were not influenced by any better motives. In many places the churches were suffered to fall to decay; and cures, so impoverished as no longer to afford the minister a decent subsistence, were given to any persons who could be found miserable enough to accept them. That opinion, which had accustomed the people to look upon religious* poverty with respect, was removed at the very time when the great body of the parochial clergy were thus reduced to abject poverty; and at the same time the clergy were permitted to marry, which rendered their poverty more conspicuous and less endurable.

* Archbishop Leighton, (a man who ought never to be named without some expression of respect for his wisdom and his holiness) used to say, "The corruptions and cruelties of Popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that Church under those just and visible prejudices, but the several orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and, with all the trash that was among them, maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved; so that the Protestant churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers."

Burnet's Hist. of his Own Time, Vol. i. p. 175. (edition 1815)

Burnet himself also saw the good which the Romish Church derived from these orders, notwithstanding the villainous impostures and loathsome trash with which they were polluted. "The whole body of Protestants," he says, "if united, might be an equal match to the Church of Rome: it is much superior to them in wealth and in force, if it were animated with the zeal which the monastic orders, but chiefly the Jesuits, spread through their whole communion: whereas the reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed in matters that relate to religion."

See also, upon this subject, what is said in the Quarterly Review, vol. xix. p. 89.

The Reformation, like other great political revolutions, was produced by the zeal and boldness of an active minority. The great mass of the people throughout England were attached to the Catholic superstition, and most strongly so to those parts of it which were most superstitious. They were brought over from it just as Julian intended to bring over the Christians from Christianity, by prohibiting their ancient practices, and depriving them of their former course of instruction, rather than by the zeal and * ability of new teachers. Under the papal system more had latterly been done by the regular than by the secular clergy; but by the suppression of the regulars, the number of religious instructors was reduced to less than half the former establishment, and they who remained were left to labour with diminished ardour in a wider field. For a twofold evil was produced by the violence of the struggle and its long continuance. Those members of the priesthood who had entered with most feeling upon their holy office, who were most conscious of its duties, or who had applied themselves with most vigour to theological studies, took their part either for or against the Reformation; and on the one side or the other a large proportion of them suffered martyrdom or exile, both parties being too sincere not to understand and avow, that, upon their view of the question, it was as much a religious duty to inflict, as to suffer persecution. But the ignorant, the lukewarm, the time-

* Bishop Jewel said, in one of his letters, that "if they had more hands matters would go well: but it was hard to make a cart go without horses."

servers, and many whom a pardonable weakness, or a humble distrust of their own frail judgement, withheld from taking a decided part, kept their station *, and performed the old service or the new with equal obedience; many indeed with equal indifference: but there is reason to believe that many were attached in secret to the old system, not merely because while it existed they had been more respected and better paid, but because they had grown up in it, and an acquiescence in its exploded tenets had become the rooted habits of their minds. They lived in hope of another change, which was always expected while the presumptive heiress of the crown was a Romanist; they dared not openly inculcate the old faith, but assuredly they used no efforts for establishing the people in scriptural truths contrary to the errors with which they themselves were possessed; and if the reformed service appeared dry and meagre in their churches, and their ministry was as ineffectual as it was insincere and heartless, this was what they desired.

This farther evil ensued; the worldly motives which had induced parents to educate their children for the clerical profession were withdrawn. The means for assisting poor scholars were lamentably diminished. The church no longer offered power

* The number of the secular clergy was about 9400, and of these scarcely 200 were deprived by the establishment of the Church under Elizabeth; the rest conformed as they had done under Queen Mary, and as many of them would again have done if the country had been cursed (according to their hopes) with a second of the name. It does not appear that any of the inferior clergy were deprived.

to the aspiring, dignity to the proud, ease and comfort to easy men, and opportunities of learning and leisure to those of a higher nature; but it held forth a prospect of the most imminent and appalling danger—fear, insecurity, the prison and the stake. Formerly the monasteries as well as the churches had been filled; but for this reason few persons were to be found who were qualified for orders, at a time * when they were most wanted, and the few who had been regularly bred would not accept of benefices upon which they could not subsist with respectability. The greatest part of the country clergy were so ignorant that they could do little more than read; many of them were carpenters and tailors, having taken to these employments because they could not subsist upon their

* The vacancies happened also to be far more numerous than usual. In the first year of Elizabeth's reign "the realm had been extremely visited with a dangerous and contagious sickness, which took away almost half the bishops, and occasioned such mortality amongst the rest of the clergy, that a great part of the parochial clergy were without incumbents." (Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 246.) The chroniclers make no mention of any pestilence in 1558, and perhaps that of 1562-3 may be meant.

In the parliament of 1563 the Speaker complained that owing to the prevalent fashion of expenditure, and the rapacity which was its consequence, "many of the schools and benefices were seised, the education of youth disappointed, and the succours for knowledge cut off. For I dare aver," said he, "the schools in England are fewer than formerly by an hundred, and those which remain are many of them but slenderly stocked; and this is one reason the number of learned men is so remarkably diminished. The universities are decayed, and great market towns without either school or preacher; for the poor vicar is turned off with twenty pounds, and the bulk of the Church's patrimony is impropriated and diverted to foreign use. Thus the parish has no preacher, and thus, for want of a fund for instruction, the people are bred to ignorance and obstinacy." Collier's Ecclesiastical History, p. 480.

benefices, and some even kept ale-houses. During the first years of Elizabeth's reign, the service in many of the London parishes was performed by the sextons: and in very many vicarages, some of them in good provincial towns, the people were forced to provide themselves as they could. In many places they found needy men, who though they were worthy of no higher station envied and hated those who were more prosperous than themselves, and these persons poisoned their parishioners with puritanical doctrines and puritanical politics, which from the beginning were naturally allied. And because of the want of unexceptionable subjects, men of learning but of tainted opinions found admittance into the church, and their zeal was more pernicious than the torpor of the papistical clergy.

Owing therefore to the indifference or incapacity of one party of the clergy, and to the temper of another, there was at the same time an increase of fanaticism and a decay of general piety: in some places no care was taken to instruct the people, in others, opinions the most hostile to established institutions were sedulously and perseveringly inculcated. And though from a sense of duty in the sovereign, as well as from motives of sound policy, the best and wisest men were selected for the highest offices of the church, even the transcendant talents called forth in its defence could not counteract the destructive principles which were at work. Political circumstances brought those principles into full play. Their tendency from the first had not been mistaken; indeed it had scarcely been

disguised. They produced in their progress rebellion and regicide; and if the schismatics who cordially co-operated for the overthrow of the altar and the throne, had not turned their malignant passions against each other as soon as the business of destruction was done, they would have established among us an ecclesiastical tyranny of the lowest and most loathsome kind, the only thing wanting to complete the punishment and the degradation of this guilty and miserable nation.

When these disturbances began, time had so far remedied the ill consequences attendant upon the Reformation, that though the evil resulting from the poverty of the inferior clergy and from their diminished numbers had not been remedied, a generation of clergymen had grown up, not inferior as a body to those of any age or country, in learning, in ability, or in worth. Their sincerity was put to the proof, and it appears that full two-thirds of them were ejected for fidelity to their king and their holy office. Revolutions call forth heroic virtue at the beginning, but their progress tends to destroy all virtue, for they dislocate the foundations of morality. Reformed religion had not yet taken root in the hearts of the people; the lower classes were for the most part as ignorant of the essentials of religion as they had been in the days of popery, and they had none of that attachment to its forms, in which the strength of popery consists. Opinions were now perilously shaken and unsettled. During the anarchy that ensued, new sects sprang up like weeds in a neglected

garden. Many were driven mad by fanaticism, a disease which always rages in disordered times. Others were shocked at beholding how religion was made a cloak for ambition and villany of every kind, and being deprived of their old teachers and properly disgusted with the new, they fell into a state of doubt, and from doubt into unbelief. A generation grew up under a system which had as far as possible deprived holiness of all its beauty; the yoke was too heavy, too galling, too ignominious to be borne: and when the restoration put an end to the dominion * of knaves and fanatics, it

* The conduct of the puritanical clergy during their reign is thus admirably described in a fragment said to have been written by Milton, and bearing strong marks of his style: "If the state were in this plight, religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice of bishops, and pluralities; that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (before any part of the work was done for which they came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one, sometimes two or more of the best livings) collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms: by which means these great rebukers of non-residence, amongst so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths. And yet the main doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that their doctrine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring in conscience, than evangelical persuasion;

was soon perceived that the effect of such systems is to render religion odious by making piety suspected, and to prepare a people for licentiousness and atheism.

The circumstances which attended the restoration of the Church were in some respects similar

---

distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But, while they taught compulsion without convincement, which not long before they complained of, as executed unchristianly, against themselves, their intents are clear to have been no better than anti-christian; setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate whom they would have made their executioner to punish church delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance.

"And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers, trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices; upon their commendations for zealous (and as they sticked not to term them) godly men, but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and, where not corruptly, stupidly; so that, between them the teachers, and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation; nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of reformation. The people, therefore, looking one while on the statists, whom they beheld without constancy or firmness, labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of their own too high undertakings, busiest in petty things, trifling in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expressed divers ways their disaffection, some despising whom before they honoured, some deserting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them. Then looking on the churchmen, whom they saw under subtile hypocrisy, to have preached their own follies most of them, not the gospel; time-servers, covetous, illiterate, persecutors, not lovers of the truth; like in most things whereof they accused their predecessors: looking on all this, the people, which had been kept warm a-while with the counterfeit zeal of their pulpits, after a false heat, became more cold and obdurate than before, some turning to lewdness, some to flat atheism, put beside their old religion, and foully scandalized in what they expected should be new." Harleian Miscellany, 8vo edition, vol. v. p. 89.

to those which had existed at the time of its establishment under Elizabeth, and in some respects more unfavourable. A generation had elapsed during which no men had been educated for the priesthood except upon sectarian principles. The greater number of the sequestered clergy had been cut off, many of them by the natural course of years; many by ill-usage and confinement in prisons or in the hulks. These ministers had been content to suffer for conscience-sake; but when those who had supplanted them were called upon to conform to the liturgy which they had proscribed, or to give up their benefices, a * large majority preferred the easier alternative. In so doing, many beyond all doubt did well in the sight of God and man, and chose conscientiously the better part; but there must certainly have been many who sacrificed their scruples to their convenience, and more who had no scruples to sacrifice, because they had brought with them to their holy office little intellect and less feeling. Some of the ejected ministers were men of unquestionable piety and signal talents: all had given proof of their sincerity. Wherever therefore the priest was ejected, part at least of his flock regretted him,

* The number of non-conformists who were expelled in consequence of the act of uniformity is stated at two thousand: that of the sequestered clergy was between six and seven thousand as stated by Dr. Gauden in his Petitionary Remonstrance to the Protector: so incorrect are the assertions of Messrs. Bogue and Bennet in their History of the Dissenters, that "the episcopal clergy very generally conformed to the new establishment;" (vol. i. p. 87.) and that "ecclesiastical history furnishes no such instance of a noble army of confessors at one time," (ditto, p. 99.) as that of the two thousand non-conforming ministers.

and a disposition by no means favourable to his successor must have existed; and where men of little ability and little principle retained their benefices, they must have been despised. Thus the influence of the clergy which had been woefully shaken during the long struggle, received another shock. The clergy themselves did not manifest in their prosperity the same equal mind with which they had endured their adverse fortune. They were more desirous of retaliating upon their old persecutors than of conciliating them. Forgiveness of injuries indeed is the last lesson which men learn in the school of suffering: but he must know little of the history and the spirit of those times who should imagine that any conciliatory measures on the part of the Church could have produced uniformity in a land where old opinions had been torn up by the roots, and the seeds of schism had been scattered every where.

It is easier to justify the heads of the restored clergy upon this point, than to excuse them for appropriating to themselves the wealth which in consequence of the long protracted calamities of the nation was placed at their disposal. The leases of the church lands had almost all fallen in; there had been no renewal for twenty years, and the fines which were now raised amounted to about a million and a half. Some of this money was expended in repairing as far as was reparable that havoc in churches and cathedrals which the fanatics had made during their abominable reign; some also was disposed of in ransoming English slaves

from the Barbary pirates: but the greater part went to enrich individuals and build up families, instead of being employed as it ought to have been in improving the condition of the inferior clergy. Queen Anne applied the tenths and * first fruits to this most desirable object; but the effect of her augmentation was slow and imperceptible; they continued in a state of degrading poverty, and that poverty was another cause of the declining influence of the Church, and the increasing irreligion of the people.

A farther cause is to be found in the relaxation, or rather the total decay of ecclesiastical discipline. In the Romish days it had been grossly abused; and latterly also it had been brought into general abhorrence and contempt, by the tyrannical measures of † Laud on one side, and the absurd rigour of Puritanism on the other. The clergy had lost that authority which may always command at least the appearance of respect; and they had lost that respect also by which the place of authority may sometimes so much more worthily be supplied. For the loss

* Charles II. disposed of these funds chiefly among his mistresses and his natural children. Queen Mary intended to apply them (as was afterwards done by her sister) to the augmentation of small livings: Burnet after her death represented this to William, and the measure was strongly approved by Somers and Halifax, but Sunderland obtained an assignment of 2000l. a-year upon two dioceses for two lives, "so nothing was to be hoped for after that!"

† Something is said in the Quarterly Review (vol. xvi. pp. 518, 519), of the temper with which it behoves us to regard this part of our history. But there are writers at this day who seem to think, in the words of the prose Hudibras, that "Pillories are more cruel than scaffolds, or perhaps Prynne's ears were larger than my Lord of Canterbury's head."

of power they were not censurable; but if they possessed little of that influence which the minister who diligently and conscientiously discharges his duty will certainly acquire, it is manifest, that, as a body, they must have been culpably remiss. From the Restoration to the accession of the house of Hanover, the English church could boast of some of its brightest ornaments and ablest defenders; men who have neither been surpassed in piety, nor in erudition, nor in industry, nor in eloquence, nor in strength and subtlety of mind: and when the design for re-establishing popery in these kingdoms was systematically pursued, to them we are indebted for that calm and steady resistance, by which our liberties, civil as well as religious, were preserved. But in the great majority of the clergy zeal was wanting. The excellent Leighton spoke of the Church as a fair carcass without a spirit: in doctrine, in worship, and in the main part of its government, he thought it the best constituted in the world, but one of the most corrupt in its administration. And Burnet observes, that in his time our clergy had less authority, and were under more contempt, than those of any other church in Europe; for they were much the most remiss in their labours, and the least severe in their lives. It was not that their lives were scandalous; he entirely acquitted them of any such imputation; but they were not exemplary as it became them to be; and in the sincerity and grief of a pious and reflecting mind, he pronounced that they would

never regain the influence which they had lost, till they lived better and laboured more.

Unfavourable as this faithful representation is, the constitution of our church tended naturally to produce such ministers. Under the Reformed, as well as under the Romish establishment, the clerical profession offered an easy and honourable provision for the younger sons of the gentry; but the Church of Rome had provided stations for them, where, if they were not qualified for active service, their sins of omission would be of a very venial kind. The monasteries had always a large proportion of such persons: they went through the ceremonies of their respective rules, which, in spite of repeated reformations, (as they were called,) always in no long time relaxed into a comfortable sort of collegiate system: their lack of ability or learning brought no disgrace to themselves, for they were not in a situation where either was required; and their inefficiency was not injurious to the great establishment, of which, though an inert, they were in no wise an inconvenient part. But when such persons, instead of entering the convents which their ancestors had endowed, were settled upon family livings as parochial clergy, then indeed serious evil was done to the character of the Church, and to the religious feelings of the nation: their want of aptitude or inclination for the important office into which they had been thrust then became a fearful thing for themselves, and a miserable calamity for the people committed to their charge.

Even when the motives for entering the Church were not thus palpably gross, the choice was far more frequently made from motives of convenience and worldly circumstances, than from a deliberate and conscientious determination of the will and the judgement. Where there was influence in an endowed school, or a fair prospect of promotion at college, boys were destined for holy orders with little reference to their talents or their disposition; sometimes, indeed, notoriously, because they were thought unfit for any thing else. And when no unfitness existed, the destination was usually regarded with ominous indifference, as if it might be entered upon with as little forethought and feeling as a secular profession or a branch of trade; as if all the heart, and all the soul, and all the strength of man were not required for the due performance of its duties, and a minister of the gospel were responsible for nothing more than what the Rubric enjoins.

The inevitable lack of zeal in a church thus constituted was not supplied, as in Catholic countries, by the frequent introduction of men * in mature or declining life, in whom disappointment, wrongs, sufferings and bereavements, the visitation of God and the grace of God, have produced the most beneficial of all changes. By such men the influence of Rome has been upheld in Europe, and its doctrines extended among savage tribes and in idolatrous kingdoms, from Paraguay to Japan; but

* Upon this subject see the Quarterly Review, vol. xv. pp. 228, 229.

the English establishment had provided no room for them, and it admitted of no supernumeraries. While there was so little zeal in the great body of the clergy, many causes combined to render the want of zeal more and more injurious. The population had doubled since the settlement of the Church under Elizabeth; yet no provision had been made for increasing proportionately the means of moral and religious instruction, which at the beginning had been insufficient. The growth of trade drew men together into towns and cities; a change in society which, however necessary in the progress of the human race, however essential to the advancement of manufactures and knowledge, national wealth and national power, the arts, and the comforts, and the refinements of life, is assuredly, in its immediate effects, injurious to general morals. As soon as the frenzy fever of faction had spent itself, the nation had revolted against the tyrannical spirit of Puritanism, and the * unmer-

* "I remember," says Burnet, "in one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a service." This, indeed, was in Scotland, but the service was not less tremendous in England. Philip Henry used, on such occasions, to begin at nine o'clock, and never stir out of the pulpit till about four in the afternoon, "spending all that time in praying and expounding, and singing and preaching, to the admiration of all that heard him, who were generally more on such days than usual." John Howe's method of conducting these public fasts, which were frequent in those miserable days, was as follows: He began at nine o'clock with a prayer of a quarter of an hour, read and expounded Scripture for about three quarters of an hour, prayed an hour, preached another hour, then prayed half an hour: the people then sung for about a quarter of an hour, during which he retired and took a little refreshment; he then went into the pulpit again, prayed an hour more, preached another hour, and then, with a prayer of half an hour, concluded the service.

ciful forms. Unhappily, while it was in this temper, a fashion of speculative impiety was imported from France, where it had originated in a corrupt church, and in a literature more infamously licentious than that of any other country. England was but in too apt a state for receiving the poison. Some of the leading Commonwealths-men had been infidels, and hated the clergy of every denomination with a bitterness which, if the age had been ripe for it, would have produced an Anti-christian persecution; for infidelity has shown itself in its triumph to be not less intolerant than superstition. It was in this school that some of the leading statesmen, in Charles the Second's reign, had been trained; and the progress of the evil was accelerated, unintentionally indeed, but not less effectually, by a* philosophy of home-growth, the shallowest that ever imposed upon the human understanding. The schools of dissent also soon became schools of unbelief: this disposition is the natural consequence of those systems which call upon every man to form his own judgement upon points of faith, without respect to the authority of other ages or of wiser minds, without reference to his own ignorance or his own incapacity; which leave humility out of the essentials of the Christian character, and when they pretend to erect their superstructure of rational belief, build upon the shifting sands of vanity and self-conceit.

* See the Lay Sermons of Mr. Coleridge, and particularly the last note to the Statesman's Manual, where this subject is treated with consummate knowledge and consummate ability.

A great proportion of the Protestants in France, following too faithfully the disgraceful example of Henry the Fourth, had passed through unbelief to popery, the easy course which infidels will always take when it may suit their interest. Our Church was shaken to the foundation by the same cause: it was built upon a rock; but had the fabric fallen, the constitution would not long have remained standing. A sense of the danger from which we had escaped, and of the necessity of guarding against its recurrence, animated our clergy against the Romanists, and they exerted themselves to expose the errors and the evils of the Romish superstition. This they victoriously effected; but another, and not less essential duty, was as much neglected as ever, the duty of imbuing the people, from their youth up, with the principles of that purer faith which had been obtained for them at such cost, and preserved for them, through such afflictions, with such difficulty, and from such peril. In reality, though the temporal advantages of Christianity extended to all classes, the great majority of the populace knew nothing more of religion than its forms. They had been Papists formerly, and now they were Protestants, but they had never been Christians. The Reformation had taken away the ceremonies to which they were attached, and substituted nothing in their stead. There was the Bible, indeed, but to the great body of the labouring people the Bible was, even in the letter, a sealed book. For that system of general education which the fathers of the English church

desired, and which saintly King Edward designed, had never been provided.

Nevertheless, the Reformation, though thus injurious in some respects, and imperfect in others, had proved, in its general consequences, the greatest of all national blessings. It had set the intellect of the nation free. It had delivered us from spiritual bondage. It rid the land of the gross idolatry and abominable impostures of the Romish Church, and of those practices by which natural piety is debased, and national morals are degraded. It saved us from that infamous casuistry of the confessional, the end of which was to corrupt the conscience, and destroy the broad distinction between right and wrong. All that was false, all that was burdensome, all that was absurd, had been swept away like chaff before the wind. Whatever was retained would bear the light, for it was that pure faith which elevates the understanding and purifies the heart; which strengthens the weakness of our nature; which, instead of prescribing a system of self-tormenting, like that of the Indian Yoguees, heightens all our enjoyments, and is itself the source of the highest enjoyment to which we can attain in this imperfect state, while it prepares us for our progress in eternity.

The full effects of this blessed Reformation were felt in those ranks where its full advantages were enjoyed. The Church of England, since its separation from Rome, had never been without servants who were burning and shining lights; not for their own generations only, but for ages which are yet

to come: the wisest and the most learned may derive instruction from their admirable works, and find in them a satisfaction and a delight by which they may estimate their own progress in wisdom. Among the laity also, the innate sense of piety, wherever it had been fostered by those happy circumstances which are favourable to its developement and growth, received a right direction. No idols and phantoms were interposed between man and his Redeemer; no practices were enjoined as substitutes for good works or compensations for evil; no assent was demanded to propositions which contradict the senses and insult the understanding. Herein we differ from the Romanists. Nor are the advantages inconsiderable which we enjoy over our Protestant brethren who walk in the bye-paths of sectarianism. It has been in the error of attributing an undue importance to some particular point, that sects have generally originated: they contemplate a part instead of the whole: they split the rays of truth, and see only one of the prismatic colours, while the members of the national church live in the light.

The evil was, that, among the educated classes, too little care was taken to imbue them early with this better faith; and too little exertion used for awakening them from the pursuits and vanities of this world, to a salutary and hopeful contemplation of that which is to come. And there was the heavier evil, that the greater part of the nation were totally uneducated;—Christians no farther than the mere ceremony of baptism could make,

them, being for the most part in a state of heathen, or worse than heathen, ignorance. In truth, they had never been converted; for at first one idolatry had been substituted for another: in this they had followed the fashion of their lords; and when the Romish idolatry was expelled, the change on their part was still a matter of necessary submission:— they were left as ignorant of real Christianity as they were found. The world has never yet seen a nation of Christians.

The ancient legislators understood the power of legislation. But no modern government seems to have perceived, that men are as clay in the potter's hands. There are, and always will be, innate and unalterable differences of individual character; but national character is formed by national institutions and circumstances, and is whatever those circumstances may make it—Japanese or Tupinamban, Algerine or English. Till governments avail themselves of this principle in its full extent, and give it its best direction, the science of policy will be incomplete.

Three measures then were required for completing the Reformation in England: that the condition of the inferior clergy should be improved; that the number of religious instructors should be greatly increased; and that a system of parochial education should be established and vigilantly upheld. These measures could only be effected by the legislature. A fourth thing was needful,—that the clergy should be awakened to an active discharge of their duty; and this was

not within the power of legislation. The former objects never for a moment occupied Wesley's consideration. He began life with ascetic habits and opinions; with a restless spirit, and a fiery heart. Ease and comfort were neither congenial to his disposition nor his principles: wealth was not necessary for his calling, and it was beneath his thoughts: he could command not merely respectability without it, but importance. Nor was he long before he discovered what St. Francis and his followers and imitators had demonstrated long before, that they who profess poverty for conscience-sake, and trust for daily bread to the religious sympathy which they excite, will find it as surely as Elijah in the wilderness, and without a miracle. As little did the subject of national education engage his mind: his aim was direct, immediate, palpable utility. Nor could he have effected any thing upon either of these great legislative points: the most urgent representations, the most convincing arguments, would have been disregarded in that age, for the time was not come. The great struggle between the destructive and conservative principles,—between good and evil,—had not yet commenced; and it was not then foreseen that the very foundations of civil society would be shaken, because governments had neglected their most awful and most important duty. But the present consequences of this neglect were obvious and glaring; the rudeness of the peasantry, the brutality of the town populace, the prevalence of drunkenness, the growth of impiety, the general

deadness to religion. These might be combated by individual exertions, and Wesley felt in himself the power and the will both in such plenitude, that they appeared to him a manifestation, not to be doubted, of the will of Heaven. Every trial tended to confirm him in this persuasion; and the effects which he produced, both upon body and mind, appeared equally to himself and to his followers miraculous. Diseases were arrested or subdued by the faith which he inspired, madness was appeased, and, in the sound and sane, paroxysms were excited which were new to pathology, and which he believed to be supernatural interpositions, vouchsafed in furtherance of his efforts by the Spirit of God, or worked in opposition to them by the exasperated Principle of Evil. Drunkards were reclaimed; sinners were converted; the penitent who came in despair was sent away with the full assurance of joy; the dead sleep of indifference was broken; and oftentimes his eloquence reached the hard brute heart, and opening it, like the rock of Horeb, made way for the living spring of piety which had been pent within. These effects he saw,—they were public and undeniable; and looking forward in exultant faith, he hoped that the leaven would not cease to work till it had leavened the whole mass; that the impulse which he had given would surely, though slowly, operate a national reformation, and bring about in fulness of time, the fulfilment of those prophecies which promise us that the kingdom of our Father shall

come, and his will be done in earth as it is in heaven.

With all this there was intermingled a large portion of enthusiasm, and no small one of superstition; much that was erroneous, much that was mischievous, much that was dangerous. But had he been less enthusiastic, of a humbler spirit, or a quieter heart, or a maturer judgement, he would never have commenced his undertaking. Sensible only of the good which he was producing, and which he saw produced, he went on courageously and indefatigably in his career. Whither it was to lead he knew not, nor what form and consistence the societies which he was collecting would assume; nor where he was to find labourers as he enlarged the field of his operations; nor how the scheme was to derive its temporal support. But these considerations neither troubled him, nor made him for a moment foreslack his course. God, he believed, had appointed it, and God would always provide means for accomplishing his own ends.

CHAPTER X.

WESLEY SEPARATES FROM THE MORAVIANS.

But the house which Wesley had raised was divided in itself. He and the Moravians had not clearly understood each other when they coalesced. Count Zinzendorff moreover looked upon the society which had been formed in London, as a colony belonging to his spiritual empire; and if he was incapable of bearing with an equal, Wesley could as little brook a superior. A student of Jena, by name Philip Henry Molther, having been detained by various causes in London on his way to Pennsylvania, took upon himself the care of the brethren. The Moravians had their extravagancies, and of a worse kind than any into which Methodism had fallen; but these extravagancies had not been transplanted into England: their system tended to produce a sedate, subdued habit of mind, and nothing could be more contrary to this than the paroxysms which were exhibited under Wesley's preaching, and the ravings to which he appealed exultingly as proofs of the work of grace. Molther maintained that there was delusion in these things; that the joy and love which were testified in such glowing language were the effect of animal spirits and imagination, not joy in the Holy Ghost, and the real love of God shed abroad in their hearts.

They who, whether owing to their strength of mind or of body, had not experienced such emotions, were disposed to listen to his opinion, and congratulate themselves that they had escaped a dangerous delusion; and it was yet more willingly embraced by those who had become languid and spiritless in consequence of over-excitement, felt in themselves an abatement of zeal, had relaxed in any degree from the rule of life which they had begun, or returned to any of those practices which were really sinful or which they had been taught to think so. "I observed," says Wesley, "every day more and more the advantages Satan had gained over us. Many of those who once knew in whom they had believed were thrown into idle reasonings, and thereby filled with doubts and fears from which they now found no way to escape. Many were induced to deny the gift of God, and affirm they never had any faith at all, especially those who had fallen again into sin, and, of consequence, into darkness."

That which has so often happened in theological disputes, and sometimes with such lamentable effects, occurred in this. In opposing Wesley's error, the Moravian advanced opinions equally erroneous; he maintained that there are no degrees of faith; that no man has any degree of it before he has the full assurance; that there is no justifying faith short of this; that the way to attain it is to wait for Christ and be still, but not to use the means of grace, by frequenting church, or communicating, or fasting, or engaging much in private prayer, or

reading the Scriptures, or doing temporal good, or attempting to do spiritual good, because, he argued, no fruit of the spirit can be given by those who have it not, and they who have not faith themselves, are utterly unable to guide others. These positions were strenuously opposed by Wesley; and when Molther maintained that since his arrival in England he had done much good by unsettling many from a false foundation and bringing them into "true stillness," Wesley insisted, on the contrary, that much harm had been done by unsettling those who were beginning to build good works upon the right foundation of faith, and bewildering them in vain reasonings and doubtful disputations.

Molther however produced a great effect, while he had the field to himself; and Wesley was informed that the brethren in London had neither wisdom enough to guide, nor prudence enough to let it alone; that the Moravians seemed to consult about things as if they were the whole body, that they made a mere jest of going to church or to the sacrament, and that many of the sisters were shaken, and grievously torn by reasonings, and that there seemed to be a design of dividing the society. Accordingly he repaired to London with a heavy heart. "Here," says he, "I found every day the dreadful effects of our brethren's reasoning and disputing with each other. Scarce one in ten retained his first love, and most of the rest were in the utmost confusion, biting and devouring one another. I pray God ye be not consumed one of another!—One came to me by

whom I used to profit much, but her conversation was now too high for me. It was far above, out of my sight. My soul is sick of this *sublime* divinity! Let *me* think and speak as a little child! Let *my* religion be plain, artless, simple! Meekness, temperance, patience, faith, and love, be these *my* highest gifts; and let the highest words wherein I teach them be those I learn from the Book of God." He had a long and patient conference with Molther, by which the only advantage gained was that they distinctly understood each other; and he earnestly besought the brethren to "stand in the old paths, and no longer to subvert one another's souls by idle controversies and strife of words." They seemed to be all convinced, but it was rather by the effect of his presence than of his reasoning; and he fancied that in answer to their prayers a spirit of peace was sent among them to which they had for many months been strangers.

This was of short continuance. Complaints were made to Wesley that those brethren who adhered to the Moravian opinions and had left off the ordinances, were continually troubling the others and forcing them to dispute. This occasioned an expostulation on his part: he entreated them not to perplex their brethren any more, but at least to *excuse* those who still waited for God in the ways of his appointment. Toleration of this kind is little compatible with hearty zeal, and if Wesley on this occasion supplicated for a truce it was because his people were the weaker party. He left London however for Bristol, whither this disunion had not

extended. Charles arrived from a circuit during his absence, and supported the same cause with equal ardour. But the difference became more marked and the reciprocal feeling more acrimonious, and he perceived that a separation must be the natural result. "Their practice," said he, "is agreeable to their principles; lazy and proud themselves, bitter and censorious toward others, they trample upon the ordinances and despise the commands of Christ. I see no middle point wherein we can meet." Some of his opponents imagined that John was less hostile to their opinions, or more tolerant of them than his brother; and for this reason they summoned him from Bristol that he might interfere once more, and put an end to their jarrings. He arrived in no cheerful mood, and in no charitable one; for Molther happened to be taken ill, and he affirmed that it was the hand of God that was upon* him! "Our society met," he says, "but cold, weary, heartless, dead. I found nothing of brotherly love among them now, but a harsh, dry, heavy, stupid spirit. For two hours they looked one at another, when they looked up at all, as if one half of them was afraid of the other." The Moravian opinion upon the matter in

* In Wesley's Answer to Mr. Church's Remarks, this circumstance is thus noticed: "You describe heaven (quoting from Mr. Church) as executing judgements, immediate punishments, on those who oppose you. You say, 'Mr. Molther was taken ill this day. I believe it was the hand of God that was upon him.' I do. But I do not say as a *judgement from God* for opposing me. That *you* say for me." This is very discreditable to Wesley. If he did not expressly say this, it is plain that he implied it, that his followers would understand it so, and that he intended it so to be understood.

dispute had the great advantage of being convenient; it exempted all persons from the ordinances,—those who were without faith because they ought not to use them, those who had faith because they were not required to do it. It prevailed with many, and it staggered more. Wherever Wesley went he was besieged by those who having once been "full of peace and love were now again plunged into doubts and fears, and driven even to their wits' ends." He was utterly at a loss what course to take; these vain janglings, as he calls them, pursued him everywhere. He endeavoured, by explaining in public those texts which had been perverted, and by private conversation, to reclaim those who had been led astray, and confirm those who were wavering; and after a few days of this unsatisfactory and ungrateful work, he again left London, having, he says, delivered his own soul.

That expression implies a full persuasion on his part that a separation must ensue. Indeed, he had already contemplated such an event. In one of their conferences Molther had maintained the jesuitical opinion that pious frauds might lawfully be used. This he had resolutely opposed; but when others of the Moravian persuasion to whom he was more amicably inclined, pleaded for a certain "reservedness and closeness of conversation," though it neither accorded with his judgment nor his temper, nor with his interpretation of St. Paul's direction, he felt some hesitation upon the subject, considering that they had the practice of the Mo-

ravian church on their side: and recurring, according to his custom, to the Testament for a chance text, he opened upon these words, *What is that to thee? Follow thou me.* Four months before this bibliomancy came in aid of his meditated purpose, he had taken a large building in Moorfields which had been the foundry for cannon during the civil wars and for some time after the Restoration; he felt himself in a minority in Fetter-lane which had hitherto been their chief place of meeting; and foreseeing that it would ere long be necessary for him to secede, unless he waited to be expelled, he thus provided for the alternative in time.

After a short stay at Bristol, therefore, he returned to London, fully prepared for the decisive step. The first measure was to muster his own adherents, by new-modelling the bands, and thus relieving them from that perpetual disputation by which they were wavered if not weakened. In this the Wesleys were assisted by Ingham. "We gathered up our wreck," says Charles, "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, floating here and there on the vast abyss; for nine out of ten were swallowed up in the dead sea of stillness. Oh why was not this done six months ago! How fatal was our delay and false moderation!" Molther was too ill for any more conferences, if any amicable result could have been expected from such measures, always more likely to widen differences than to adjust them. But though Molther was thus disabled from bearing a part, Wesley could make no impression upon the "poor, confused, shattered

society," when he plainly told them wherein they had erred from the faith. "It was as I feared," says he. "They could not receive my saying. However I am clear from the blood of these men:" and "finding there was no time to delay without utterly destroying the cause of God, I began to execute what I had long designed, to strike at the root of the grand delusion." Accordingly, every day for a week in succession he preached in the strongest language against the tenets by which the majority of his former followers were now weaned from him. But easy as he had found it to subdue the hearts and imaginations of men, he found them invincible when they were attacked in the strong-hold of their self-conceit. They told him that he was preaching up the works of the law, which as believers they were no more bound to obey than the subjects of the King of England were bound to obey the laws of the King of France.

One of the spurious treatises ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite was a favourite book among the Moravianized members. Some extracts were annexed to it in a style of what Wesley calls the same super-essential darkness. Wesley took the volume to Fetter-lane, and read these words before the jarring society, "The Scriptures are good; prayer is good; communicating is good; relieving our neighbours is good: but to one who is not born of God none of these are good, but all very evil. For him to read the Scriptures, or to pray, or to communicate, or to do any outward work is deadly

poison. First let him be born of God. Till then let him not do any of these things. For if he does, he destroys himself." Having twice read these words, distinctly, that all might hear and understand, he asked, "My brethren, is this right, or is it wrong?" One of them replied, "It is right: it is all right. It is the truth; it is the very truth; it is the inward truth. And to this we must all come, or we never can come to Christ." Another said, "I used the ordinances twenty years, yet I found not Christ. But I left them off only for a few weeks and I found Him then: and I am now as close united to Him as my arm is to my body." Many voices were now raised against Wesley; it was asked whether they would any longer suffer him to preach at Fetter-lane; and after a short debate it was answered, "No, this place is taken for the Germans." But Wesley knew how important it was that the separation should appear to be an act of his own authority and will; and going to their love-feast on the Sunday following, at the close of the meeting he stood up, and read from a written paper a brief statement of the doctrines which he condemned. It concluded with these words: "You have often affirmed that to search the Scriptures, to pray, or to communicate before we have Faith, is to seek salvation by works, and that till these works are laid aside no man can have Faith. I believe these assertions to be flatly contrary to the Word of God. I have warned you hereof again and again, and besought you to turn back to the Law and the Testimony. I have

borne with you long, hoping you would turn. But as I find you more and more confirmed in the error of your ways, nothing now remains but that I should give you up to God. You that are of the same judgement, follow me!"

A few persons and but a few withdrew with him. When they met at the Foundry for the first time after the separation, the seceders were found to be about twenty-five men; but of the fifty women that were in bands, almost all adhered to Wesley. Just at this time a curious letter was received from one of the German brethren; he advised the Wesleys no longer to take upon themselves to teach and instruct poor souls, but to deliver them up to the care of the Moravians, who alone were able to instruct them. "You," said he, "only instruct them in such errors that they will be damned at last. St. Paul justly describes you who *have eyes full of adultery, and cannot cease from sin*, and take upon you to guide unstable souls, and lead them in the way of damnation." This letter seems to have produced another epistle from "John Wesley, a presbyter of the Church of God in England, to the Church of God at Hernhuth in Upper Lusatia." Wesley never returned railing for railing; he had his temper entirely under command, and therefore he was always calm and decorous in controversy. His own feelings had not been of the most charitable kind: he had ascribed the illness of his chief antagonist to the arm of the Lord; in arguing with the Moravians against their errors he had expressed himself as

delivering his own soul, as being clear from the blood of those men; and when he withdrew from them he gave them up to God; phrases these which are of no equivocal indication. But the coarseness of his German monitor taught him now to avoid an error, which when applied to himself he saw in all its absurdity and all its grossness, and he began his Epistle in a better and wiser spirit. "It may seem strange that such a one as I am should take upon me to write to you. You, I believe to be *dear children of* GOD, *through faith which is in* JESUS. Me you believe, as some of you have declared, to be *a child of the devil, a servant of corruption*. Yet whatsoever I am, or whatsoever you are, I beseech you to weigh the following words: if haply God, who *sendeth by whom He will send*, may give *you* light thereby, although the mist of darkness, as one of you affirm, should be reserved for *me* for ever."

He proceeded to state temperately what were the things which he disapproved in their tenets and in their conduct, and gave some instances of the indiscretion of the English brethren, to whom he more particularly alluded. One of them had said when publicly expounding Scripture, that as many went to hell by praying as by thieving. Another had said, "You have lost your first joy; therefore you pray: that is the Devil. You read the Bible: that is the Devil. You communicate: that is the Devil." For these extravagancies he justly blamed the community in which they were uttered, and by which they were suffered, if not sanctioned. "Let

not any of you, my brethren, say, *We* are not chargeable with what *they* speak. Indeed you are. For you *can* hinder it if you *will*. Therefore, if you do not it must be charged upon *you*. If you do not use the power which is in your hands, and thereby prevent their speaking thus, you do in effect speak thus yourselves. You make *their* words *your own*, and are accordingly chargeable with every ill consequence which may flow therefrom."

Though Wesley had been compelled to separate from the Moravians, there were many circumstances which, after the separation had taken place, tended greatly to modify the feelings that had produced it. Among the German brethren there were some whom he could not but regard with affection and respect; and in England many persons adhered to them with whom he had been long and intimately connected, and whose integrity he knew. Ingham and Delamotte were of this number, and Hutton, whom Wesley found as little obedient to his spiritual father as he had taught him to be to his natural parents; and Gambold, a humble and heavenly-minded man, who had been one of the first Methodists at Oxford. They made Wesley perceive that all errors of opinion were not necessarily injurious to the individual by whom they were entertained; but that men who went by different ways might meet in heaven. They showed him also, that opinions which appeared gross and monstrous when advanced by rash or ignorant advocates, might have their specious side. A few

months after the breach, he says in his journal, "Our old friends Mr. Gambold and Mr. Hall came to see my brother and me. The conversation turned wholly on *silent prayer*, and *quiet waiting* for God, which they said was the only possible way to attain living, saving faith.

Sirenum cantus et Circes pocula nosti?

Was there ever so pleasing a scheme! But where is it written? Not in any of those books which I account the Oracles of God. I allow if there is a better way to God than the Scriptural way this is it: but the prejudice of education so hangs upon me, that I cannot think there is. I must therefore still *wait* in the Bible way, from which this differs as light from darkness."

Perhaps the separation of the Methodists from the Moravians would not have occurred so soon if Peter Boehler had at that time been in England. No other individual during any part of his life, possessed so great an ascendancy over the mind of Wesley as this remarkable man. And now when he returned to this country after the breach, Wesley's feelings upon the first interview were strongly excited; "I marvel," he says, "how I refrain from joining these men. I scarce ever see any of them but my heart burns within me. I long to be with them. And yet I am kept from them." He went to a love-feast at which Boehler presided, and left it with the impression that the time would surely return when there should be again among them "union of mind as in them all one soul."

But there were many obstacles in the way of this re-union; those on the opposite part he thus strongly stated in a letter to his brother: "As yet I dare in no wise join with the Moravians; because their general scheme is *mystical*, not *scriptural*, refined in every point above what is written, immeasurably beyond the plain Gospel; because there is darkness and closeness in all their behaviour, and guile in almost all their words; because they not only do not practise, but utterly despise and decry self-denial and the daily cross, because they conform to the world, in wearing gold and gay or costly apparel; because they extend Christian liberty in many other respects also; they are by no means zealous of good works, or at least only to their own people. For these reasons chiefly, I will rather, God being my Helper, stand quite alone than join with them; I mean, till I have full assurance that they are better acquainted with *the truth as it is in Jesus.*"

Yet these obstacles would not have been insuperable, if there had not existed others, which Wesley perhaps did not acknowledge even to himself and in his inmost heart. John Wesley could never have been more than a member of the Moravian church: the first place was occupied, and he was not born to hold a secondary one. His doctrine of perfection also was at least as objectionable to the Moravians, as their mysticism to him, and assuredly it was more dangerous. Upon this point he held a conference with Boehler, and his first friend Spangenberg, who thus stated their

belief upon this point; "The moment we are justified, a new creature is put into us. But, notwithstanding, the old creature, or the old man, remains in us, till the day of our death; and in this old man there remains an old heart, corrupt and abominable: for inward corruption remains in the soul, as long as the soul remains in the body. But the heart which is in the new man is clean. And the new man is stronger than the old; so that though corruption continually strives, yet, while we look to Christ, it cannot prevail." Wesley asked him if there was an old man in him: "Yes," he replied, "and will be as long as I live." "Is there then corruption in your heart?" said Wesley. Spangenberg made answer, "In the heart of my old man there is, but not in the heart of my new man;" and this, he said, was confirmed, not by his own experience only, but by that of all the Moravian church. Some of Wesley's disciples, women as well as men, who were present at this conference, bore their testimony to the possibility of attaining that Christian perfection which was at this time Wesley's favourite tenet, and which was so flattering to the pride of his followers. But Spangenberg answered this with great truth, as well as great emotion, and the old man's hand trembled as he spake: "You all deceive your own souls! There is no higher state than that I have described. You are in a very dangerous error. You know not your own hearts. You fancy your corruptions are taken away, whereas they are only covered. Inward corruption never can be taken

away, till our bodies are in the dust." The same opinion was afterwards expressed to Wesley, in familiar conversation, by Boehler, but with characteristic vigour: "Sin will and must always remain in the soul. The old man will remain till death. The old nature is like an old tooth: you may break off one bit, and another, and another; but you can never get it all away. The stump will stay as long as you live, and sometimes will ache too."

The scheme of a re-union, however, had been so much brought forward, that the Methodists in London set apart a day for prayer and humbling their souls before God, if haply He might show them his will concerning it. All the men and women bands met accordingly, and they were satisfied, from the conviction which this meeting produced, that the time was not yet come, "because the Moravians had not given up their most essentially erroneous doctrines;" and because, it was said, "so much guile had been found in their words, that it was difficult to know what they really held and what they did not." Wesley did not perceive that there was a beam in his own eye; but knowing many of the Moravians as he knew them, after long and intimate intercourse, he ought to have known that their ambiguity should have been imputed to any cause rather than to guile. On their part the separation was not desired: upon the first intelligence of the difference, Count Zinzendorff sent over Spangenberg to act as mediator; and Spangenberg having pronounced that the Moravians had been blameable, and had injured

Wesley, the Count gave orders that they should ask * his forgiveness; and when he found that Wesley had rejected the proffered reconciliation, he came to England himself. The meeting between these personages was arranged by Hutton, and took place in Gray's-Inn Walks. They conversed in Latin; and Zinzendorf, who assumed throughout the scene that superiority to which his birth and rank had habituated him, began by demanding of Wesley wherefore he had changed his religion: "You have affirmed," said he, "in your epistle, that they who are true Christians are not miserable sinners; and this is most false: for the best of men are most miserable sinners, even till death. They who teach otherwise are either absolute impostors, or they are under a diabolical delusion. You have opposed our brethren, who taught better things; and when they offered peace, you denied it. I loved you greatly," said Zinzendorf, "when you wrote to me from Georgia: then I knew that you were simple at heart. You wrote again; I knew that you were simple at heart, but that your ideas were disturbed. You came to us, and then your ideas were more and more confused." And he reproached him for having refused to be reconciled with the brethren,

* It is not to the credit of Wesley that these circumstances are not stated in his Journal, and no otherwise recorded than in the conversation with Count Zinzendorf, which, he says, he dared not conceal. But as he printed it in the original Latin, and did not think proper to annex a translation, it was effectually concealed from the great majority of his followers. Neither are they noticed by any of the biographers of Wesley.

when, in obedience to Spangenberg, they had entreated his forgiveness. Wesley replied, it was true that they had treated him wrongfully, and afterwards asked his forgiveness. He had made answer, that forgiveness was unnecessary, because he had never been offended; but that he feared lest they taught erroneously, and lived incorrectly; and this was the matter in dispute: they erred in their opinions concerning Christian perfection, and concerning the means of grace. To this Zinzendorf vehemently replied, "I acknowledge no inherent perfection in this life. This is the error of errors. I persecute it through all the world with fire and sword. I trample upon it, I destroy it. Christ is our only perfection. All Christian perfection is faith in the blood of Christ. It is imputed, not inherent. We are perfect in Christ: we are never perfect in ourselves." Wesley protested, that this was merely a dispute concerning words, and attempted to prove it so by a series of interrogations, by which the Count was led to this assertion, "We reject all self-denial; we trample on it. In faith we do whatever we desire, and nothing more. We laugh at all mortification: no purification precedes perfect love." If this meant all that it expresses, it would indeed be a perilous doctrine. But it often happens, that language equally indiscreet is innocently intended, and less evil is produced by it than might reasonably be apprehended, because the intention is understood.

Wesley put an end to this curious conversation,

by promising that, with God's help, he would perpend what the Count had said. But his part was already taken: no farther attempt at reconciliation was made; and after three years had elapsed, he published the breach to the world, in the fourth part of his Journal, which he dedicated to the Moravian Church, and more especially to that part of it then or lately residing in England. "I am constrained at length," he said, "to speak my present sentiments concerning you. I have delayed thus long, because I loved you, and was therefore unwilling to grieve you in any thing: and likewise because I was afraid of creating another obstacle to that union which, if I know my own heart in any degree, I desire above all things under heaven. But I dare no longer delay, lest my silence should be a snare to any others of the children of God; and lest you yourselves should be more confirmed in what I cannot reconcile to the law and the testimony. This would strengthen the bar which I long to remove. And were that once taken out of the way, I should rejoice to be a door-keeper in the house of God, a hewer of wood, or drawer of water among you. Surely I would follow you to the ends of the earth, or remain with you in the uttermost parts of the sea." He praised them for laying the true foundation in their doctrine; for brotherly love of each other; for their sober, innocent, and industrious lives. "I love and esteem you," he said, "for your excellent discipline, scarce inferior to that of the apostolic age: for your due subordination of officers, every

one knowing and keeping his proper rank: for your exact division of the people under your charge, so that each may be fed with food convenient for them; for your care that all who are employed in the service of the Church, should frequently and freely confer together; and, in consequence thereof, your exact and seasonable knowledge of the state of every member, and your ready distribution either of spiritual or temporal relief, as every man hath need." In relating what he found himself enforced by a sense of duty to lay before the public, he endeavoured, he said, to do it with a tender hand; "relating no more than I believed absolutely needful, carefully avoiding all tart and unkind expressions, all that I could foresee would be disobliging to you, or any farther offensive than was implied in the very nature of the thing; labouring every where to speak consistently with that deep sense which is settled in my heart, that you are (though I cannot call you Rabbi, infallible) yet far, far better and wiser than me." He added, that if any of the Moravian Brethren would show him wherein he had erred in this relation, either in matter or manner, he would confess it before angels and men, in whatever way they should require; and he entreated that they would not cease to pray for him as their weak but still affectionate brother.

After the breach had been thus formally announced, Count Zinzendorf published an advertisement, declaring that he and his people had no connection with John and Charles Wesley. The

Moravians forbore from all controversy upon the subject, but Wesley did not continue the tone of charity and candour in which he had addressed them upon the separation. Speaking of a short narrative which Zinzendorf had written of his own life, he says, "Was there ever such a Proteus under the sun as this Lord Fraydeck, Domine de Thurstain, &c. &c., for he has almost as many names as he has faces or shapes. Oh, when will he learn (with all his learning) simplicity and godly sincerity? When will he be an upright follower of the Lamb, so that no guile may be found in his mouth?" He still for a while professed that he loved the Moravians; but he gave such reasons for not continuing to admire them as he had formerly done, that it was manifest the love also was on the wane, and would soon be succeeded by open enmity. He censured them for calling themselves the Brethren, and condemned them with asperity for arrogating to themselves the title of the Moravian Church, which he called a palpable cheat. He blamed them for conforming to the world by useless trifling conversation; for levity in their general behaviour; for joining in diversions in order to do good, and for not reproving sin even when it was gross and open. He said that much cunning might be observed in them, much evasion and disguise: that they treated their opponents with a settled disdain, which was neither consistent with love nor humility; that they confined their beneficence to the narrow bounds of their own society. Their preaching, he said, destroyed the love of

God and the love of our neighbour. "If a man," said he, "was before a zealous member of our church, groaning for the prosperity of our Zion, it is past; all that zeal is at an end: he regards the Church of England no more than the Church of Rome: his tears no longer fall, his prayers no longer ascend, that God may shine upon her desolation. The friends that were once as his own soul, are now no more to him than other men. All the bands of that formerly endeared affection are as threads of tow that have touched the fire. Even the ties of filial tenderness are dissolved: The child regards not his own parent: he no longer regards the womb that bare, nor the paps that gave him suck. Recent instances are not wanting. I will particularise, if required. Yea, the son leaves his aged father, the daughter her mother, in want of the necessaries of life. I know the persons. I have myself relieved them more than once: for that was *corban whereby they should have been profited.*"—He should have asked himself whether Methodism did not sometimes produce the same effects. The fifth commandment is but a weak obstacle in the way of enthusiasm.

Wesley soon went farther than this, and throwing aside all appearance of any remaining attachment to the Moravians, charged them with being cruel and deceitful men. He published in his journals accusations against them of the foulest kind, made by persons who had forsaken their society; thus giving the whole weight of his judgement to their

abominable* charges. And he affirmed that it was clear to a demonstration, that the Moravian elders assumed a more absolute authority over the conscience than the Pope himself: that to gain and secure this, they used a continued train of guile, fraud, and falsehood of every kind; and that they scraped their votaries to the bone as to their worldly substance. Yet, he added, they were still so infatuated as to believe that theirs was the only true Church upon earth. They could not possibly have believed so, if they had been guilty of the crimes with which they were charged; and that Wesley should have repeated, and thereby sanctioned those charges, must be considered as the most disingenuous act of his life. For however much he differed from the Moravians, and however exceptionable he might have deemed their doctrine, he well knew that there was nothing in that doctrine which could lead either to such practices, or be pleaded in palliation of them: and had he been called upon to give evidence concerning them in a court of justice, his testimony must have been wholly in their favour.

Whitefield also entered the lists against them. They had committed some fooleries, and, like the religious communities of the Romish church, it

* "Mr. Rimius has said nothing to what might have been said concerning their marriage economy. I know a hundred times more than he has written; but the particulars are too shocking to relate. I believe no such things were ever practised before; no, not among the most barbarous heathens." Journal 9. p. 179. (vol. 3. of Wesley's Works, 1810.) In another part of the same Journal (p. 107.) they are charged, upon the testimony of another witness, with the vilest abominations.

appears, that if a believer were disposed to give or bequeath money to the brotherhood, they were not scrupulous concerning the injury which he might do to himself or his family. The heavier charges have been effectually disproved by time.

CHAPTER XI.

WESLEY SEPARATES FROM WHITEFIELD.

In separating from Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians, there had been little sacrifice of feeling on Wesley's part; but he was involved at the same time in a difference with Whitefield, which affected him deeply, and led to consequences of greater importance.

At the commencement of his career, Wesley was of a pugnacious spirit, the effect of his sincerity, his ardour, and his confidence. He wished to obtain Whitefield's acquiescence in his favourite doctrine of perfection, the "free, full, and present salvation from all the guilt, all the power, and all the in-being of sin;" a doctrine as untenable as it was acceptable to weak minds and inflated imaginations. He knew also that Whitefield held the Calvinistic tenets of election and irreversible decrees; tenets which, if true, would make God unjust, and the whole Gospel a mere mockery. Upon both these subjects he wrote to his old friend and disciple, who at this time, though he could yield to him upon neither, wished earnestly to avoid all dispute. "My honoured friend and brother," said he in his reply, "for once hearken to a child who is willing to wash your feet. I be-

seech you, by the mercies of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, if you would have my love confirmed towards you, write no more to me about misrepresentations wherein we differ. To the best of my knowledge, at present no sin has dominion over me, yet I feel the strugglings of in-dwelling sin day by day. The doctrine of election, and the final perseverance of those who are in Christ, I am ten thousand times more convinced of, if possible, than when I saw you last. You think otherwise. Why then should we dispute, when there is no probability of convincing? Will it not, in the end, destroy brotherly love, and insensibly take from us that cordial union and sweetness of soul, which I pray God may always subsist between us? How glad would the enemies of the Lord be to see us divided! How many would rejoice, should I join and make a party against you! And, in one word, how would the cause of our common Master every way suffer, by our raising disputes about particular points of doctrine! Honoured Sir, let us offer salvation freely to all by the blood of Jesus; and whatever light God has communicated to us, let us freely communicate to others. I have lately read the life of Luther, and think it in no wise to his honour, that the last part of his life was so much taken up in disputing with Zwinglius and others, who in all probability equally loved the Lord Jesus, though they might differ from him in other points. Let this, dear Sir, be a caution to us; I hope it will to me; for, by the blessing of God, provoke me to it as much as you please, I do.

not think ever to enter the lists of controversy with you on the points wherein we differ. Only I pray to God, that the more you judge me, the more I may love you, and learn to desire no one's approbation, but that of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ."

These feelings are creditable to Whitefield, but he was not consistent in pursuing the course of conduct which he thus advised. Two months only after this letter was written, he followed it with another in a different strain. "Honoured Sir," it began, "I cannot entertain prejudices against your conduct and principles any longer without informing you. The more I examine the writings of the most experienced men, and the experiences of the most established Christians, the more I differ from your notion about not committing sin, and your denying the doctrines of election and the final perseverance of the saints. I dread coming to England, unless you are resolved to oppose these truths with less warmth than when I was there last. I dread your coming over to America; because the work of God is carried on here, and that in a most glorious manner, by doctrines quite opposite to those you hold.—God direct me what to do! Sometimes I think it best to stay here, where we all think and speak the same thing: the work goes on without divisions, and with more success, because all employed in it are of one mind. I write not this, honoured Sir, from heat of spirit, but out of love. At present I think you are entirely inconsistent with yourself, and therefore do

not blame me if I do not approve of all that you say. God himself, I find, teaches my friends the doctrine of election. Sister H. hath lately been convinced of it; and, if I mistake not, dear and honoured Mr. Wesley hereafter will be convinced also.—Perhaps I may never see you again till we meet in judgement; then, if not before, you will know, that sovereign, distinguishing, irresistible grace brought you to Heaven." Wesley received this letter in a kindly spirit, and thanked him for it. "The case is quite plain," he said in reply. "There are bigots both for predestination and against it. God is sending a message to those on either side, but neither will receive it unless from one who is of their own opinion. Therefore, for a time you are suffered to be of one opinion, and I of another. But when his time is come, God will do what men cannot, namely, make us both of one mind."—Soon afterwards Whitefield writes to one of his friends in England, "for Christ's sake desire dear brother Wesley to avoid disputing with me. I think I had rather die than see a division between us; and yet how can we walk together, if we oppose each other?" And again to Wesley himself, he says, "for Christ's sake, if possible, dear Sir, never speak against election in your sermons: no one can say that I ever mentioned it in public discourses*, whatever

* Yet it appears by Whitefield's Journal, that on his last voyage to America he had been confirmed in his Calvinistic opinions, and had resolved in consequence upon preaching them. "This afternoon was exceedingly strengthened by perusing some paragraphs out of a book

my private sentiments may be. For Christ's sake, let us not be divided amongst ourselves: nothing will so much prevent a division as your being silent on that head."

While Whitefield from America was thus exhorting to forbearance from controversy, the Calvinistic Methodists in England were forcing on the separation which he deprecated, while he foresaw. One of the leading members in London, by name Acourt, had disturbed the society by introducing his disputed tenets, till Charles Wesley gave orders that he should no longer be admitted. John was present when next he presented himself and demanded whether they refused admitting a person only because he differed from them in opinion. Wesley answered no, but asked what opinion he meant. He replied, "that of election. I hold that a certain number are elected from eternity, and these must and shall be saved, and the rest of mankind must and shall be damned." And he affirmed that many of the society held the same; upon which Wesley observed that he never asked whether they did or not; "only let them

---

called *The Preacher*, written by Dr. Edwards of Cambridge, and extracted by Mr. Jonathan Warn, in his books entitled *The Church-of-England-man turned Dissenter*, and *Arminianism the Back-door to Popery*. There are such noble testimonies given before that University of Justification by Faith only in the imputed Righteousness of Christ, our having no Free-Will, &c., that they deserve to be written in letters of gold. I see more and more the benefit of leaving written testimonies behind us concerning these important points. They not only profit the present, but will also much edify the future ages. *Lord, open thou my mouth, that I may henceforward speak more boldly and explicitly as I ought to speak.*"

not trouble others by disputing about it." Acourt replied, "Nay, but I will dispute about it."—"Why then," said Wesley, "would you come among us, who you know are of another mind?"—"Because you are all wrong, and I am resolved to set you all right."—"I fear," said Wesley, "your coming with this view would neither profit you nor us." "Then," rejoined Acourt, "I will go and tell all the world that you and your brother are false prophets. And I tell you in one fortnight you will all be in confusion."

Some time before, Wesley had received a letter in which he was reproached for not preaching the Gospel because he did not preach the doctrine of election. According to his usual presumptuous practice at that time, instead of consulting with his friends, or even advising with himself upon the prudence of engaging in controversy, he drew a lot for his direction, and the lot was "preach and print." So he preached a sermon against this deplorable doctrine and printed it. Whitefield was then in England, and at his desire the publication was for a while suppressed; but it was sent into the world soon after his departure for America. The rising sect was thus disturbed by a question which had so often carried discord into the schools of theology, which had unhappily divided the Protestant world, and which when it had risen in the bosom of the Catholic church, neither the Popes with their bulls, nor the Kings of France with their power, nor the Jesuits with all the wisdom of the serpent, could either determine or lay to rest.

Wesley had begun the discussion, but Whitefield persevered in it, when he would fain have pressed it no farther; and he assumed a tone of superiority which Wesley, who was as much his superior in intellect as in learning, was little likely to brook. "Give me leave," said he, "with all humility to exhort you not to be strenuous in opposing the doctrines of election and final perseverance, when by your own confession you have not the witness of the spirit within yourself, and consequently are not a proper judge.—I am assured God has now for some years given me this living witness in my soul. I can say I have been on the borders of Canaan, and do, every day, nay almost every moment, long for the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, not to evade sufferings, but with a single desire to see his blessed face. I feel his blessed spirit daily filling my soul and body, as plain as I feel the air which I breathe, or the food which I eat. Perhaps the doctrine of election and of final perseverance hath been abused, (and what doctrine has not?) but notwithstanding, it is children's bread, and ought not in my opinion to be withheld from them, supposing it is always mentioned with proper cautions against the abuse. Dear and honoured Sir, I write not this to enter into disputation. I hope at this time I feel something of the meekness and gentleness of Christ. I cannot bear the thoughts of opposing you: but how can I avoid it if you go about, as your brother Charles once said, to drive John Calvin out of Bristol? Alas, I never read any thing that Calvin wrote: my doctrines I

had from Christ and his Apostles; I was taught them of God; and as God was pleased to send me out first, and to enlighten me first, so I think he still continues to do it.—I wish I knew your principles fully; did you write oftener and more frankly, it might have a better effect than silence and reserve."

Whitefield indeed was frequently indulging sometimes in such exaggerated expressions of humility, and at others in such ebullitions of spiritual pride, that it is no wonder the suspicion of hypocrisy should have attached to him, till time and death had placed his sincerity beyond all dispute. "I have now," he says, "such large incomes from above, and such precious communications from our dear Lord Jesus, that my body sometimes can scarcely sustain them."—"I have a garden near at hand, where I go particularly to meet and talk with my God, at the cool of every day. I often sit in silence, offering my soul as so much clay, to be stamped just as my heavenly potter pleases; and whilst I am musing, I am often filled, as it were, with the fulness of God. I am frequently at Calvary, and frequently on Mount Tabor, but always assured of my Lord's everlasting love."—"Our dear Lord sweetly fills me with his presence. My heaven is begun indeed. I feast on the fatted calf. The Lord strengthens me mightily in the inner man." At other times he "abhors" himself "in dust and ashes." He is "a worm and no man." He "deserves to be the outcast of the people."—"Why do so many of my Lord's ser-

vants take notice of such a dead dog as I am?" Then again he would pamper his imagination with the hopes of persecution and martyrdom. "Dear brother," he says to one of his American co-adjutors, "both you and I must suffer, and that great things, before we enter into glory. My work is scarce begun; my trials are yet to come. What is a little scourge of the tongue? What is a thrusting out of the synagogues? The time of temptation will be when we are thrust into an inner prison, and feel the iron entering even into our souls. Then perhaps even God's people may be permitted to forsake us for a while, and none but the Lord Jesus to stand by us. But if thou, O dearest Redeemer, wilt strengthen me in the inner man, let enemies plunge me into a fiery furnace, or throw me into a den of lions!" And he writes as if he really believed, or affected to believe, that persecuting rulers were again about to employ lions' dens and burning fiery furnaces! "I am now looking," he says, "for some strong attacks from Satan."—"Let us suffer for Jesus with a cheerful heart! His love will sweeten every cup, though never so bitter. Let us pledge him willingly, and continue faithful even to death! A scene of sufferings lies before us. Who knows but we may wade to our Saviour through a sea of blood? I expect (Oh pray that I may be strengthened if called to it!) to die for his great name's sake. 'Twill be sweet to wear a martyr's crown."—"Suffer we must, I believe, and that great things. Our Lord by his providence begins to show it.

Ere long perhaps we may sing in a prison, and have our feet set fast in the stocks. But faith in Jesus turns a prison into a palace, and makes a bed of flames become a bed of down."

This was safe boasting: and yet if Whitefield had lived in an age of persecution his metal would have borne to be tried in the flames. The temper from which it arose made him as ready now to stand up in opposition to Wesley, as he had formerly been to follow him. "I am sorry," he says to him, "honoured Sir, to hear by many letters, that you seem to own a *sinless perfection* in this life attainable. I think I cannot answer you better than a venerable old minister in these parts answered a Quaker, 'bring me a man that hath really arrived to this, and I will pay his expenses let him come from whence he will.' Besides, dear Sir, what a fond conceit is it to cry up *perfection*, and yet cry down the doctrine of *final perseverance?* But this and many other absurdities you will run into, because you will not own election; and you will not own election because you cannot own it without believing the doctrine of reprobation. What then is there in reprobation so horrid?" That question might easily have been answered. The doctrine implies that an Almighty and All-wise Creator has called into existence the greater part of the human race to the end that after a short, sinful, and miserable life, they should pass into an eternity of inconceivable torments, it being the pleasure of their Creator that they should not be able to obey his commands, and yet incur the

penalty of everlasting damnation for disobedience. In the words of Mr. Wesley, who has stated the case with equal force and truth, "the sum of all is this; one in twenty (suppose) of mankind, are *elected;* nineteen in twenty are *reprobated!* The elect shall be saved, *do what they will:* the reprobate shall be damned, *do what they can.*" This is the doctrine of Calvinism; for which Diabolism would be a better name; and in the worst and bloodiest idolatry that ever defiled the earth, there is nothing so horrid, so monstrous, so impious as this.

Whitefield continued, "Oh that you would be more cautious in casting lots! Oh that you would not be too rash and precipitant! If you go on thus, honoured Sir, how can I concur with you? It is impossible. I must speak what I know. Thus I write out of the fulness of my heart. I feel myself to be a vile sinner. I look to Christ. I mourn because I have pierced him. Honoured Sir, pray for me. The Lord be with your dear soul." The same week produced a letter in a higher style of assumed superiority: "Dear brother Wesley, what mean you by disputing in all your letters? May God give you to know yourself, and then you will not plead for absolute perfection, or call the doctrine of election a doctrine of devils. My dear brother, take heed! See that you are in Christ a new creature! Beware of a false peace: strive to enter in at the strait gate; and give all diligence to make your calling and election sure: remember you are but a babe in Christ, if so much! Be humble, talk little, think and pray much. Let God teach

you, and he will lead you into all truth. If you must dispute, stay till you are master of the subject; otherwise you will hurt the cause you would defend." And in a subsequent letter he says, "O dear Sir, many of God's children are grieved at your principles! Oh that God may give you a sight of his free, sovereign, and electing love! But no more of this. Why will you compel me to write thus? Why will you dispute? I am willing to go with you to prison and to death; but I am not willing to oppose you." And again, "Oh that there may be harmony and very intimate union between us, yet it cannot be, since you hold universal redemption. The Devil rages in London. He begins now to triumph indeed. The children of God are disunited among themselves. My dear brother, for Christ's sake avoid all disputation! Do not oblige me to preach against you: I had rather die."

He soon, however, began to fear that he had been sinfully silent. The children of God, he thought, were in danger of falling into error: many who had been worked upon by his ministry had been misled, and more were calling loudly upon him to show his opinion also. "I must then show," said he, "that I know no man after the flesh, and that I have no respect to persons any farther than is consistent with my duty to my Lord and Master." And therefore he took pen in hand to write against Wesley, protesting that Jonah could not go with more reluctance against Nineveh. "Was nature to speak," said he, "I had rather die than do it;

and yet if I am faithful to God, and to my own and other's souls, I must not stand neuter any longer." In this letter Whitefield related how Wesley had preached and printed his obnoxious sermon, in consequence of drawing a lot. "I have often questioned," said he, "whether in so doing you did not tempt the Lord. A due exercise of religious prudence without a lot, would have directed you in that matter. Besides I never heard that you enquired of God, whether or not election was a gospel doctrine. But I fear taking it for granted it was not, you only enquired whether you should be silent, or preach and print against it. I am apt to think one reason why God should so suffer you to be deceived was, that hereby a special obligation might be laid upon me faithfully to declare the Scripture doctrine of election, that thus the Lord might give me a fresh opportunity of seeing what was in my heart, and whether I would be true to his cause or not. Perhaps God has laid this difficult task upon me, even to see whether I am willing to forsake all for him or not." Thus while he reprehended Wesley for a most reprehensible and presumptuous practice, did he manifest a spirit little less presumptuous himself. In farther proof of the folly of Wesley's practice, he related also the fact of his drawing lots to discover whether Whitefield should proceed to Georgia, or leave the ship which was then under sail and return to London, upon which occasion he reminded him of his subsequent confession that God had given him a wrong lot. "I should never," says

he, "have published this private transaction to the world did not the glory of God call me to it."

This was the only important part of the letter, and Whitefield afterwards felt and feelingly acknowledged the great impropriety which he had committed in thus revealing the weakness of his friend. The argumentative part had nothing worthy of notice either in manner or matter, for powerful preacher as he was, he had neither strength nor acuteness of intellect, and his written compositions are nearly worthless. But the conclusion is remarkable for the honest confidence and the warmth of affection which it breathes. "Dear, dear Sir, Oh be not offended! For Christ's sake be not rash! Give yourself to reading. Study the covenant of grace. Down with your carnal reasoning! Be a little child; and then, instead of pawning your salvation, as you have done in a late hymn-book, if the doctrine of universal redemption be not true; instead of talking of sinless perfection, as you have done in the preface to that hymn-book, and making man's salvation to depend on his own free will, as you have done in this sermon, you will compose a hymn in praise of sovereign distinguishing love. You will caution believers against striving to work a perfection out of their own hearts, and print another sermon the reverse of this, and entitle it *Free Grace indeed;* free, because not free to all; but free, because God may withhold or give it to whom, and when he pleases. Till you do this I must doubt whether or not you know yourself. God knows my heart, nothing but a single regard to the honour of

Christ has forced this letter from me. I love and honour you for his sake; and when I come to judgement will thank you before men and angels for what you have, under God, done for my soul. There I am persuaded I shall see dear Mr. Wesley convinced of election and everlasting love. And it often fills me with pleasure to think how I shall behold you casting your crown down at the feet of the Lamb, and as it were filled with a holy blushing for opposing the divine sovereignty in the manner you have done. But I hope the Lord will show you this before you go hence. Oh how do I long for that day!"

That this letter was intended for publication is certain; but there seems to have been a hope in Whitefield's mind that the effect which its perusal would produce might render publication needless. His friends in London however thought proper to print it, without either his permission or Wesley's, and copies were distributed at the door of the Foundery, and in the meeting itself. Wesley holding one in his hand stated to the congregation the fact of its surreptitious publication, and then saying, "I will do just what I believe Mr Whitefield would were he here himself," he tore it in pieces. Every person present followed his example; and Wesley, in reference to the person by whose means these unlucky copies had been circulated, exclaims in his journal, "Ah poor Ahitophel! *Ibi omnis effusus labor!*"

The person who seems to have been most active in enforcing Calvinism in opposition to Wesley at

time was a certain John Cennick, whom he employed at Kingswood in the school which Whitefield had designed for the children of the colliers. Whitefield had collected some money for this good work, and had performed the ceremony of laying the foundation; but farther than this ceremony it had not proceeded when he embarked the second time for America, and left it to be carried forward by Wesley. There was the great difficulty of want of money in the way; but this was a difficulty which faith would remove, and in faith Wesley began building without having a quarter of the sum necessary for finishing it. But he found persons who were willing to advance money if he would become responsible for the debt; the responsibility and the property thus devolved upon him, and he immediately made his will, bequeathing it to his brother Charles and Whitefield. Two masters were provided as soon as the house was fit to receive them, and Cennick was one. He was not in holy orders, but the practice of lay-preaching which had at first been vehemently opposed by the Wesleys, had now become inevitably a part of their system, and Cennick, who had great talents for popular speaking, laboured also as one of these helpers, as they were called. This person in his horror against the doctrines of the Wesleys wrote urgently to Whitefield, calling upon him to hasten from America that he might stay the plague. "I sit," said he; "solitary like Eli, waiting what will become of the ark; and while I wail and fear the carrying of it away from among my people, my trouble in-

creases daily. How glorious did the Gospel seem once to flourish in Kingswood! I spake of the everlasting love of Christ with sweet power. But now brother Charles is suffered to open his mouth against this truth, while the frighted sheep gaze and fly, as if no shepherd was among them. It is just as if Satan was now making war with the saints in a more than common way. Oh! pray for the distressed lambs yet left in this place that they faint not! Surely they would if preaching would do it, for they have nothing whereon to rest, who now attend on the sermons, but their own faithfulness. With universal redemption brother Charles pleases the world. Brother John follows him in every thing. I believe no Atheist can more preach against predestination than they; and all who believe election are counted enemies to God and called so. Fly dear brother! I am as alone,—I am in the midst of the plague! If God give thee leave, make haste!"

A copy of this letter came into Wesley's hands, and it stung him, because he said the writer was "one I had sent for to assist me, a friend that was as my own soul, that even while he opposed me lay in my bosom." Charles in consequence addressed a letter to him which forcibly expresses the feeling of the two brothers upon having one of their disciples thus rise against them. "You came to Kingswood," says he, "upon my brother's sending for you. You served under him in the Gospel as a son, I need not say how well he loved you. You used the authority he gave you to over-

throw his doctrine. You every where contradicted it, (whether true or false is not the question). But you ought first to have fairly told him, 'I preach contrary to you: are you willing, notwithstanding, that I should continue *in your house*, gainsaying you? If you are not, I have no place in these regions. You have a right to this open dealing. I now give you fair warning. Shall I stay here opposing you, or shall I depart?' My brother, have you dealt thus honestly and openly with him? No. But you have stolen away the people's heart from him. And when some of them basely treated their *best friend*, God only excepted, how patiently did you take it! When did you ever vindicate us as we have you? Why did you not plainly tell them, you are eternally indebted to these men? 'Think not that I will stay among you to head a party against my dearest friend and brother, as he suffers me to call him, having humbled himself for my sake, and given me, no bishop, priest, or deacon, the right hand of fellowship. If I hear that one word more is spoken against him, I will leave you that moment.' This had been just and honest, and *not more* than we have deserved at your hands."

This was put into John Wesley's hands that he might deliver it to Cennick if he thought proper. But matters had proceeded so far that Cennick was forming a separate society, and Wesley deemed it better to speak to him and his adherents publicly, and reprove them for inveighing against him behind his back. One of them replied, that they had said no more of him behind his back than they

would say to his face, which was that he preached false doctrine;—he preached that there is righteousness in man. "So," said Wesley, "there is, after the righteousness of Christ is imputed to him through faith. But who told you that what we preached was false doctrine? Whom would you have believed this from, but Mr. Cennick? Cennick then boldly answered, "You *do* preach righteousness in man. I *did* say this, and I say it still. However we are willing to join with you; but we will also meet apart from you; for we meet to confirm one another in those truths which you speak against." Wesley replied, "You should have told me this before, and not have supplanted me in my own house, stealing the hearts of the people, and by private accusations separating very friends." Upon this Cennick denied that he had ever privately accused him. "My brethren," said Wesley; "judge!" and he produced Cennick's letter to Whitefield. Cennick avowed the letter, and said that he neither retracted any thing in it, nor blamed himself for having sent it. Some heat upon this began to manifest itself in the meeting, and Wesley, with his characteristic prudence, preserved his superiority by desiring that they might meet again on that day week, and that the matter might rest till then.

Cennick and his friends would hardly have consented to such an adjournment if they had suspected Wesley's purpose. At the appointed time, he surprised them by reading the following paper, in which they were treated not as persons who

differed from him in opinion, but as culprits: "By many witnesses it appears that several members of the Band Society in Kingswood have made it their common practice, to scoff at the preaching of Mr. John and Charles Wesley; that they have censured and spoken evil of them behind their backs, at the very time they professed love and esteem to their faces; that they have studiously endeavoured to prejudice other members of that society against them, and in order thereto, have belied and slandered them in divers instances; therefore, not for their opinions, nor for any of them (whether they be right or wrong) but for the causes above mentioned, viz. for their scoffing at the word and ministers of God, for their tale-bearing, backbiting, and evil-speaking, for their dissembling, lying, and slandering; I John Wesley, by the consent and approbation of the Band Society in Kingswood, do declare the persons above mentioned to be no longer members thereof. Neither will they be so accounted until they shall openly confess their fault, and thereby do what in them lies to remove the scandal they have given."

No founder of a sect or order, no legislator, ever understood the art of preserving his authority more perfectly than Wesley. They came prepared for a discussion of their opinions and conduct, and they were astonished at hearing themselves thus excommunicated. As soon as they recovered from their surprize they affirmed that they had heard both him and his brother preach popery many times. However they were still willing to join with them,

but they would not own that they had done any thing amiss. Wesley desired them to consider of it yet again, but finding after another week had elapsed that they still refused to acknowledge that they had been in the wrong, he once more assembled the bands and told them that every one must now take his chance and quit one society or the other. One of the Calvinistic leaders observed, that the true reason of his separating from them was because they held the doctrine of election. Wesley made answer, "You know in your own conscience it is not. There are several predestinarians in our societies both at London and Bristol; nor did I ever yet put any one out of either, because he held that opinion." They then offered to break up their society, provided he would receive and employ Cennick as he had done before. To this Wesley replied, "My brother has wronged me much: but he doth not say I repent." Cennick made answer, "Unless in not speaking in your defence I do not know that I have wronged you at all."—"It seems then," said Wesley, "nothing remains but for each to choose which society he pleases." Upon this they prayed for a short time, in a state of mind, as it should seem, but little fit for prayer; after which Cennick withdrew, and about half the meeting followed him.

At this time Whitefield was on the way from America. While upon the passage he wrote to Charles Wesley, expostulating with him and his brother, in strong but affectionate terms. "My dear, dear brethren," said he, "why did you throw

out the bone of contention? Why did you print that sermon against predestination? Why did you in particular, my dear brother Charles, affix your hymn, and join in putting out your late hymn-book? How can you say you will not dispute with me about election, and yet print such hymns, and your brother send his sermon against election over to America? Do not you think, my dear brethren, I must be as much concerned for truth, or what I think truth, as you? God is my judge, I always was, and hope I always shall be, desirous that you may be preferred before me. But I must preach the gospel of Christ, and that I cannot *now* do without speaking of election." He then informed Charles, that one copy of his answer to the sermon was printing at Charlestown; that another had been sent to Boston for the same purpose; and that he was bringing a copy to be printed in London. "If," said he, "it occasion a strangeness between us, it shall not be my fault. There is nothing in my answer exciting to it that I know of. O my dear brethren, my heart almost bleeds within me! Methinks I could be willing to tarry here on the waters for ever, rather than come to England to oppose you." But although, when he was thus addressing the Wesleys, the feelings of old friendship returned upon him, his other letters, written during the voyage, evince that he looked on to a separation as the certain consequence of this difference in opinion. "Great perils," he says, "await me; but Jesus Christ will send his angel, and roll away every stone of difficulty." "My

Lord's command now, I believe, is, "Take the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines, for our vines have tender grapes." Help me by your prayers; it is an ease thus to unbosom myself to a friend. I have sought the Lord by prayer and fasting, and he assures me that he will be with me; whom then should I fear?"—"The Lord is girding me for the battle, and strengthening me mightily in the inner man."

In this state of mind he reached London. Charles Wesley was there, and their meeting was affectionate. "It would have melted any heart," says Whitefield, "to have heard us weeping after prayer, that, if possible, the breach might be prevented." Old feelings of respect and love revived with such strength in his heart, that he promised never to preach against the Wesleys, whatever his private opinion might be. But many things combined to sour him at this time. He had written against Archbishop Tillotson's works, and the Whole Duty of Man, a book in those days of unrivalled popularity, in a manner which he himself then acknowledged to be intemperate and injudicious; and this had offended persons, who were otherwise favourably disposed towards him. His celebrity also seemed to have passed away; the twenty thousands who used to assemble at his preaching had dwindled down to two or three hundred; and in one exhibition at Kennington Common, the former scene of his triumphs, scarcely a hundred were gathered together to hear him. Worldly anxieties, too, were fretting him,

and those of a kind which made the loss of his celebrity a serious evil. The Orphan House in Georgia was to be maintained: he had now nearly a hundred persons in that establishment, who were to be supported by his exertions: there were not the slightest funds provided, and Georgia was the dearest part of the British dominions. He was above a thousand pounds in debt upon that score, and he himself not worth twenty. Seward*, the wealthiest and most attached of his disciples, was dead, and had made no provision for him, nor for the payment of a bill for 350*l.* on the Orphan House account, which he had drawn, and for which Whitefield was now responsible, and threatened with an arrest. If his celebrity were gone, the Bank of Faith, upon which he had hitherto drawn with such confidence and such success, would be

* A letter from Charles Wesley to Whitefield makes it evident that this zealous man was bestowing his property as well as his time in the service of Methodism. Writing from London in 1739, he says, "I cannot preach out on the week-days for the expence of coach-hire, nor can I accept of dear Mr. Seward's offer, to which I should be less backward would he follow my advice, but while he is so lavish of his Lord's goods I cannot consent that his ruin should in any degree *seem* to be under my hands." These goods were his family's also, as well as his Lord's; and therefore it is not surprizing that when Mr. Seward was lying ill of a fever at his house at Bengeworth, and Charles Wesley came there in one of his rounds, the wife, the brother, and the apothecary should have taken especial care to keep all Methodists from him; and when they could not prevail upon Wesley to give up his intention of preaching near the house, which the apothecary declared would throw his patient back, that they should have endeavoured to drive him out of the town by force. Seward's early loss is thus noticed by John Wesley: "Monday, Oct. 27, (1740.) The surprizing news of poor Mr. Seward's death was confirmed. Surely God will maintain his own cause! Righteous art thou O Lord." His journal was published, and is often quoted in Bishop Lavington's curious work.

closed against him. He called it truly a trying time: "Many, very many of my spiritual children," says he, "who, at my last departure from England, would have plucked out their own eyes to have given me, are so prejudiced by the dear Messrs. Wesleys dressing up the doctrine of election in such horrible colours, that they will neither hear, see, nor give me the least assistance; yea, some of them send threatening letters that God will speedily destroy me." This folly on the part of Wesley's hot adherents irritated him, and that irritation was fomented by his own. He began naturally to regard his former friends as heretics and enemies; and when Wesley, who had been summoned by his brother Charles to London on this occasion, went to him, to see if the breach might yet be closed, Whitefield honestly told him, that they preached two different gospels, and therefore he not only would not join with him, or give him the right hand of fellowship, but would publicly preach against him wheresoever he preached at all. He was reminded of the promise which he had but a few days before made, that whatever his opinion might be he would not do this: but he replied, that promise was only an effect of human weakness, and he was now of another mind.

This temper disposed him to listen to the representations of paltry minds; and he wrote to Wesley upon the points which he thought had been improperly managed during his absence in America. Wesley replied, "would you have me deal plainly with you, my brother? I believe you would:

then by the grace of God I will. Of many things I find you are not rightly informed; of others you speak what you have not well weighed. The Society room at Bristol you say is adorned. How? Why, with a piece of green cloth nailed to the desk; two sconces for eight candles each in the middle; and—nay, I know no more. Now, which of these can be spared I know not; nor would I desire either more adorning or less. But lodgings are made for me or my brother. That is, in plain English, there is a little room by the school, where I speak to the persons who come to me; and a garret in which a bed is placed for me. And do you grudge me this? Is this the voice of my brother, my son Whitefield?" Another and a heavier charge was, that he had perverted Whitefield's design for the poor colliers; and this was answered by a plain statement of the matter, which must have made Whitefield blush for the hasty and ungenerous accusation. "But it is a poor case," said Wesley, "that you and I should be talking thus! Indeed these things ought not to be. It lay in your power to have prevented all, and yet to have borne testimony to what you call the truth. If you had disliked my sermon, you might have printed another on the same text, and have answered my proofs without mentioning my name. This had been fair or friendly. You rank all the maintainers of Universal Redemption with Socinians themselves. Alas! my brother, do you not know even this, that the Socinians allow no redemption at all? that Socinus himself speaks thus;

Tota redemptio nostra per Christum metaphora; and says expressly, Christ did not die as a ransom for any, but only as an example for all mankind? How easy were it for me to hit many other palpable blots in that which you call an answer to my sermon! And how above measure contemptible would you then appear to all impartial men, either of sense or learning! But I spare you! mine hand shall not be upon you: the Lord be judge between thee and me. The general tenor both of my public and private exhortations, when I touch thereon at all, as even my enemies know, if they would testify, is, 'Spare the young man, even Absalom, for my sake!'"

Wesley, however, felt more resentment than he here thought proper to express; and thinking that it became him to speak his sentiments freely, he observed to him in private, that the publication of his letter had put weapons into the hands of their common enemies; that viewing it in the light of an answer, it was a mere burlesque, for he had left half the arguments of the sermon untouched, and handled the other half so gently, as if he was afraid of burning his fingers with them; but that he had said enough of what was wholly foreign to the question to make an open, and, probably, an irreparable breach between them, seeing that *for a treacherous wound, and for the betraying of secrets, every friend will depart.*

CHAPTER XII.

METHODISM SYSTEMATISED. — FUNDS. — CLASSES. — ITINERANCY. — LAY PREACHING.

WESLEY had at this time some cause for apprehending a disunion which would have grieved him far more than his breach with Whitefield. His brother Charles, who had assisted him so cordially in opposing the errors of Molther, was inclined to side with the Moravians, after those errors had been disowned; and he proceeded so far as to declare, that it was his intention not to preach any more at the Foundery. "*The Philistines are upon thee, Sampson,*" says Wesley in his Journal on this occasion; "but the Lord is not *departed from thee.* He shall strengthen thee yet again, and thou shalt be *avenged of them for the loss of thy eyes.*" Writing to Charles upon this subject, he says, "O my brother, my soul is grieved for you! the poison is in you; fair words have stolen away your heart. No English man or woman is like the Moravians! So the matter is come to a fair issue. Five of us did still stand together a few months since, but two are gone to the right hand, (Hutchins and Cennick,) and two more to the left (Mr. Hall and you). Lord, if it be thy gospel which I preach, arise and maintain thine own cause!"

Charles, however, soon yielded to the opinions of a brother whom he so entirely respected and loved. A breach between them indeed would have afforded a malignant pleasure to their enemies, which would in no slight degree have aggravated the pain arising from such a disunion; and they had too long been linked together for good and for evil, for honour and dishonour, to be separated by any light difference. Wesley was fully sensible of the value of such a coadjutor, who had one heart, one object with himself; whom he knew so thoroughly, and upon whom he could perfectly rely; and whose life, conversation, talents, and acquirements he could hold up to the world as confidently as his own, defying calumny, and courting investigation. A breach here, though it certainly would not have disheartened, would, for a time, have seriously weakened as well as distressed him, and have left behind it a perpetual regret when the injury should have been overcome; whereas the separation from the Moravians and from Whitefield freed him from all shackles, and made him the sole head and single mover of the sect which, however much he had once abhorred the thoughts of schism, he had now begun to form and organise. His restless spirit had now found its proper sphere, where it might move uncontrolled, and enjoy a prospect boundless as his desire of doing good, the ambition which possessed him. "I distinctly remember," he says in one of his sermons, "that even in my childhood, even when I was at school, I have often

said, 'They say the life of a school-boy is the happiest in the world; but I am sure I am not happy, for I am not content, and so cannot be happy.' When I had lived a few years longer, being in the vigour of youth, a stranger to pain and sickness, and particularly to lowness of spirits (which I do not remember to have felt one quarter of an hour ever since I was born,) having plenty of all things, in the midst of sensible and amiable friends, who loved me, and I loved them, and being in the way of life which of all others suited my inclinations; still I was not happy. I wondered why I was not, and could not imagine what the reason was. Upon the coolest reflection, I knew not one week which I would have thought it worth while to have lived over again, taking it with every inward and outward sensation, without any variation at all. The reason," he adds, "certainly was, that I did not know God, the source of present as well as eternal happiness." Another reason was, that powers like his produce an inward restlessness, and a perpetual uneasy sense of discontent, till they find or force their way into action: but now when those powers were fully developed, and in full activity, at once excited and exerted to the utmost in the service of that God, whom he surely loved with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength, the world did not contain a happier man than Wesley, nor, in his own eyes, a more important one.

Schism, according to Wesley, has almost always

been wrongly defined a separation *from* a church, instead of a separation *in** a church. Upon his own definition he himself was more peculiarly guilty of the offence; and however much he contended against those of his followers, who were for separating from the Establishment, it is scarcely possible that he should not have foreseen the separation, to which all his measures tended. Those measures were taken in good faith, and with good intent, most of them indeed arising, unavoidably, from the circumstances in which he found himself; but this was their direct, obvious, inevitable tendency. One step drew on another. Because he preached an enthusiastic and dangerous doctrine, which threw his hearers into convulsions, he was properly, by most clergymen, refused the use of their pulpits; this drove him to field-preaching. But field-preaching is not for all weathers in a climate like ours; prayer-meetings also were a part of his plan; and thus it became expedient to build meeting-houses. Meeting-houses required funds: they required ministers, too, while he was itinerating. Few clergymen could be found to co-operate with him; and though, at first, he abhorred the thought of admitting uneducated laymen to the ministry, lay preachers were soon forced upon him, by their own zeal, which was too strong to be restrained, and by the plain necessity of the case.

The organisation of Methodism, which, at this

* See his Sermon on Schism, in the 9th vol. of his collected works, p. 386, edition 1811.

time, may vie with that of any society that has ever been instituted, for the admirable adaptation of the means to the end proposed, was slowly developed and assisted in its progress by accidental circumstances. When the meeting-house was built at Bristol, Wesley had made himself responsible for the expenses of the building; subscriptions and public collections had been made at the time, but they fell short. As the building, however, was for their public use, the Methodists at Bristol properly regarded the debt as public also; and Wesley was consulting with them concerning measures for discharging it, when one of the members proposed that every person in the society should contribute a penny a week, till the whole was paid. It was observed that many of them were poor, and could not afford it. "Then," said the proposer, "put eleven of the poorest with me, and if they can give any thing, well; I will call on them weekly, and if they can give nothing, I will give for them as well as for myself. And each of you call upon eleven of your neighbours weekly, receive what they give, and make up what is wanting. The contribution of class-money thus began, and the same accident led to a perfect system of inspection. In the course of their weekly calls the persons who had undertaken for a class, as these divisions were called, discovered some irregularities among those for whose contributions they were responsible, and reported it to Wesley. Immediately he saw the whole advantage that might be derived from such an arrangement. This was

the very thing which he had long wanted to effect. He called together the leaders, and desired that each would make a particular enquiry into the behaviour of those under his care. "They did so," he says: "many disorderly walkers were detected; some turned from the evil of their ways; some were put away from us; many saw it with fear, and rejoiced unto God with reverence." A few weeks afterwards, as soon as Wesley arrived in London, he called together some of his leading disciples, and explained to them the great difficulty under which he had hitherto laboured, of properly knowing the people who desired to be under his care. They agreed that there could be no better way to come at a sure and thorough knowledge of every individual, than by dividing them into classes, under the direction of those who could be trusted, as had been done at Bristol. Thenceforth, whenever a society of Methodists was formed, this arrangement was followed: a scheme for which Wesley says he could never sufficiently praise God, its unspeakable usefulness having ever since been more and more manifest.

The business of the leaders was to see every person in his class at least once a week, in order to enquire how their souls prospered; to advise, reprove, comfort or exhort, as occasion might require; and to receive what they were willing to give toward the expenses of the society, and the relief of the poor. They were also to meet the minister and the stewards of the society, that they might inform the minister of any that were sick,

and of any that were disorderly, and would not be reproved, and pay to the stewards what they had collected from their several classes in the week preceding. At first they visited each person at his own house, but this was soon found, on many accounts, to be inexpedient, and even impracticable. It required more time than the leaders could spare; many persons lived with masters, mistresses, or relations, who would not suffer them to be thus visited; and when this frequent and natural objection did not exist, it often happened that no opportunity could be had of speaking to them, except in the presence of persons who did not belong to the society, so that the purpose of the visit was rendered useless. Differences, also, and misunderstandings between members of the same class could not be cleared up, unless the parties were brought face to face. For these reasons it was soon determined that every class should assemble weekly. Advice or reproof was then given, as need required; quarrels were made up, misunderstandings were removed; and after an hour or two had thus been passed, the meeting concluded with prayer and singing*. "It can scarcely be con-

* The leader has a class paper, upon which he marks, opposite to the name of each member, upon every day of meeting, whether the person has attended or not; and if absent, whether the absence was owing to distance of abode, business, sickness, or neglect. And every member has a printed class ticket, with a text of scripture upon it, and a letter. These tickets must be renewed every quarter, the text being changed, and the letter also, till all the alphabet has been gone through, and then it begins again. One shilling is paid by every member upon receiving a new ticket; and no person, without a proper ticket, is considered a member of the society. These were later regulations; but the main

ceived," says Wesley, "what advantages have been reaped from this little prudential regulation. Many now happily experienced that Christian fellowship; of which they had not so much as an idea before. They began to bear one another's burdens, and naturally to care for each other. As they had daily a more intimate acquaintance with, so they had a more endeared affection for each other. Evil men were detected and reproved: they were borne with for a season; if they forsook their sins we received them gladly; if they obstinately persisted therein, it was openly declared that they were not of us. The rest mourned and prayed for them, and yet rejoiced, that as far as in us lay the scandal was rolled away from the society."

Accident had led to this essential part of the Methodist discipline. The practice of itinerancy also was taken up, not from forethought, but as the natural consequence of the course in which the Wesleys found themselves engaged. John, indeed, has affirmed, that at their return from America they were "resolved to retire out of the world at once, being sated with noise, hurry, and fatigue, and seeking nothing but to be at rest. Indeed," says he, "for a long season, the greatest pleasure I had desired, on this side eternity, was

> —— *tacitum sylvas inter reptare salubres,*
> *Quærentem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque;*

---

system of finance and inspection, for which the class meetings provide, was established at this time, in consequence of the debt incurred for the first meeting-house.

and we had attained our desire. We wanted nothing, we looked for nothing more in this world, when we were dragged out again, by earnest importunity, to preach at one place and another; and so carried on, we knew not how, without any design, but the general one of saving souls, into a situation which, had it been named to us at first, would have appeared far worse than death." Whitefield, on his first return from America, earnestly advised Charles Wesley to accept a college living, thinking that the best service which he could perform would be thus to get possession of a pulpit; and his brother and all the first leaders of the Methodists urged him after this to settle at Oxford. But soon, before they were aware of it, they were engaged in a course of itinerancy. This was no new practice in England. The Saxon bishops used to travel through their dioceses, and where there were no churches preach in the open air. It is part of the system of the Mendicant orders; and the Romish church has been as much benefited by their exertions in this way as it has been disgraced by their fooleries and their fables. At the beginning of our Reformation preachers were sent to itinerate in those counties where they were most needed, for thus it was thought they would be more extensively useful, than if they were fixed upon particular cures. Four of Edward the Sixth's chaplains were thus employed, of whom John Knox was one; and in the course of his rounds he frequently preached every day in the week. At that time it was designed that there should be

in every diocese some persons who should take their circuit and preach * like Evangelists, as some of the favourers of the Reformation called them. Unhappy circumstances frustrated this among other good intentions of the fathers of our church, but it was practised with great efficacy in a part of England where it was greatly wanted by Bernard Gilpin, one of the most apostolical men that later ages have produced. During the civil wars the practice revived, but it was in hostility to the Establishment: Quakerism was propagated by itinerant preachers of both sexes; and the fierce Calvanistic fanatics, by their harangues from tubs as well as pulpits, and in barns and streets as well as churches, fomented the spirit which they raised, and which for a whole generation made this country miserable. And when they had won the victory, they attempted not merely to get rid of any church establishment, but even of all settled ministers, and to substitute a system of itinerancy. When this was proposed for England, it was lost only by a minority of two voices in Cromwell's parliament; and it was partly carried into effect in Wales under the direction of Hugh Peters and Vavasor Powell. But when the Methodists began their career, the practice had been discontinued for more than seventy years, and therefore it had all the effect of

* Something was done in this way by individuals who deemed their own strong sense of duty a sufficient qualification. In 1557, George Eagle, a taylor, who was called Trudge-over for his activity as an itinerant preacher, was executed as a traitor, "for gathering the Queen's subjects together, though he never stirred them up to rebellion;" and zeal for genuine Christianity was his only offence.

novelty when it was revived. It existed, indeed, among the Quakers, but the desire of making proselytes had ceased in that society: they had by that time acquired that quiet and orderly character, by which they have long been distinguished, and the movements of their preachers were rarely or never observed out of their own circle.

By becoming an itinerant, Wesley acquired general notoriety, which gratified his ambition, and by exciting curiosity concerning him induced persons to hear him who would not have been brought within the influence of his zeal by any other motive. This alone would have filled the churches if he had been permitted to preach in them: field-preaching was a greater novelty; it attracted greater multitudes, and brought him more immediately among the lower and ruder classes of society, whom he might otherwise in vain have wished to address. He has forcibly shown in one of his Appeals the usefulness and necessity of the practice: "What need is there," he says, speaking for his antagonists, "of this preaching in fields and streets? Are there not churches enough to preach in?—No, my friend, there are not, not for *us* to preach in. You forget: we are not suffered to preach there; else we should prefer them to any place whatever.—Well there are ministers enough without you!—Ministers enough, and churches enough, for what? To reclaim all the sinners within the four seas? If there were, they would all be reclaimed: but they are not reclaimed. Therefore it is evident there are not churches enough. And one plain

reason why, notwithstanding all these churches, they are no nearer being reclaimed is this: they never come into a church; perhaps not once in a twelvemonth, perhaps not for many years together. Will you say (as I have known some tender-hearted Christians), "then it is their own fault; let them die and be damned." I grant it is their own fault. And so it was my fault and yours when we went astray, like sheep that were lost; yet the Saviour of souls sought after us, and went after us into the wilderness. And oughtest not thou to have compassion on thy fellow servants, as he had pity on thee? Ought not we also to seek as far as in us lies, and to save that which is lost?" The utility of the practice, while so many persons lived in habitual disregard of all religious ordinances, and while so large a part of the people were suffered to grow up in brutal ignorance, could not indeed be questioned by any reasonable man. Its irregularity he confessed, but he protested that those persons who compelled him to be thus irregular, had no right to censure the irregularity. "Will they throw a man into the dirt," said he, "and beat him because he is dirty? Of all men living those clergymen ought not to complain who believe I preach the gospel. If they do not ask me to preach in their churches, *they* are accountable for my preaching in the fields."

Wesley had the less repugnance to commence preaching in the open air in England, because it was what he had often done in Georgia, and did not therefore at first appear so strange to himself

as to his congregation. But neither he nor his brother at that time perceived that it must soon become a necessary part of their plan to admit the co-operation of laymen. Their first co-adjutors were all clergymen: except Whitefield, none of them had devoted themselves body and soul to the work; they had not entered upon it with the same passion or the same ambition; their habits, their feelings, or their circumstances, would have rendered an itinerant life impossible or intolerable; they were settled upon cures, or staked down by family duties, or disqualified for incessant fatigue and public exhibitions by their state of health and constitutional diffidence. But among the lay-converts there were many who were not troubled with this last disqualification,—young men in the heat and vigour of youth, free to choose their course, and with the world before them. And the doctrine which Wesley preached was above all others able to excite confidence while it kindled enthusiasm. His proselytes by the act of conversion were regenerate men; they were in a state of Christian perfection; they had attained the grace of our Lord—the fellowship of the Holy Spirit; they had received the seal and stamp of God. So he taught and they believed; and men who believed this required no other qualification to set up as teachers themselves than a good stock of animal spirits, and a ready flow of words, the talent which of all others has the least connexion with sound intellect. They were acted upon by sympathy at their meetings, as some persons are stage-struck by fre-

quenting the theatres, and as others are made apostles of anarchy and atheism at debating clubs.

The first example of lay-preaching appears to have been set by a Mr. Bowers, who is not otherwise named in the history of Methodism. One Saturday, after Whitefield had finished a sermon in Islington church-yard, Bowers got up to address the people; Charles Wesley entreated him to desist, but finding that his entreaties were disregarded, he withdrew, and drew with him many of the persons present. Bowers afterwards confessed that he had done wrong, but the inclination which he mistook for the spirit soon returned upon him; he chose to preach in the streets at Oxford, and was laid hold of by the beadle. Charles Wesley just at that time came to Oxford, Bowers was brought to him, and, promising after a reproof to do so no more, was set at liberty. The fitness of this innovation naturally excited much discussion in the society, and the Wesleys strongly opposed it; but a sort of compromise seems to have been made, for the laymen were permitted to expound the Scriptures, which, as Law justly observed to Charles, was the very worst thing both for themselves and others.

Wesley had raised a spirit which he could not suppress, but it was possible to give it a useful direction. He has been said at first to have entertained a hope, that the ministers of those parishes in which he had laboured with success, would watch over those whom he had "turned from the

error of their ways." But in the very commencement of his career, Methodism was decidedly and properly discouraged by the ecclesiastical authorities, because of the enthusiastic doctrines which were preached, and the extravagances which were encouraged. That hope, therefore, could not long have been maintained; and Wesley soon found that if his converts were left to themselves, they speedily relapsed into their former habits. When he returned to those places, great part of his work was to begin again, and with greater difficulty, for the second impression was neither so strong, nor so readily made as the first. "What," says he, "was to be done in a case of so extreme necessity, where so many souls lay at stake? No clergyman would assist at all. The expedient that remained was to find some one among themselves, who was upright of heart, and of sound judgement in the things of God, and to desire him to meet the rest as often as he could, in order to confirm them as he was able in the ways of God, either by reading to them, or by prayer, or by exhortation." In this capacity he had appointed Cennick to reside at Kingswood, and left Maxfield in charge of the society in London. Both these persons were men of great natural powers, and though ultimately both separated from him, they did honour to his discernment, and never disgraced his choice.

From expounding to preaching was an easy step. The official biographers say that the young man Maxfield, "being fervent in spirit, and mighty in the Scriptures, greatly profited the people. They

crowded to hear him; and by the increase of their number, as well as by their earnest and deep attention, they insensibly led him to go farther than he had at first designed. He began to *preach*; and the Lord so blessed the word, that many were not only deeply awakened and brought to repentance, but were also made happy in a consciousness of pardon. The Scripture marks of true conversion, inward peace, and power to walk in all holiness, evinced the work to be of God." But however successful his preaching, it was represented to Wesley as an irregularity, which it required his presence to put a stop to, and he hastened to London for that purpose. His mother lived at that time in his house adjoining the Foundery, and she perceiving marks of displeasure in his countenance when he arrived, enquired the cause. He replied, "Thomas Maxfield has turned preacher, I find." Mrs. Wesley looked at him seriously, and said, "John, you know what my sentiments have been; you cannot suspect me of favouring readily any thing of this kind; but take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him also yourself." Wesley, like Loyola, was always ready to correct any part of his conduct, or system, as soon as he discovered that it was inconvenient or erroneous. He was too wise a man to be obstinate, and too sincere in all his actions to feel any reluctance at acknowledging that he had been mis-

taken. He heard Maxfield preach, and expressed at once his satisfaction and his sanction, by saying, *It is the Lord; Let Him do what seemeth Him good.* He saw that it was impossible to prevent his followers from preaching, and with admirable readiness resolved to lead the stream which it was beyond his power to turn. From that time, therefore, he admitted volunteers whom he thought qualified to serve him, as "sons in the Gospel;" but always upon the condition that they should labour where he appointed; because otherwise they would have stood in each other's way.

If this determination had not been occasioned by Maxfield's conduct, it would have been brought about by the service of another labourer, who in like manner anticipated the system about the same time. This person was a Yorkshire mason, by name John Nelson, one of those men who found in Methodism their proper sphere of action. He grew up under a pious father, who read the Scriptures in his family, and died with a settled reliance upon the mercy of God, and in full trust that Providence would provide for his widow and children. He married early and happily; his labour amply supported him, and he and his wife lived, he says, "in a good way, as the world calls it; that is in peace and plenty, and love to each other." But his first religious impressions had been of a frightful character: he formed resolutions which he was unable to keep; uneasiness of mind produced a restless desire of changing place; wherever he was he felt the same disquietude; and

though he had experienced neither sorrow nor misfortune of any kind, being in all respects fortunate beyond most men of his condition, still he thought that rather than live thirty years more like the thirty which he had passed, he would choose to be strangled. The fear of judgment made him wish that he never had been born, and yet there was a living hope in his soul. "Surely," said he, "God never made man to be such a riddle to himself, and to leave him so! There must be something in religion that I am unacquainted with, to satisfy the empty mind of man, or he is in a worse state than the beasts that perish." Under such feelings he wandered up and down the fields after his day's work was done, thinking what he should do to be saved, and he went from church to church but found no ease, for what he heard exasperated the distemper of his mind instead of allaying it. When he heard a clergyman expatiate upon the comfort which good men derive in death from the retrospect of a well-spent life, it led him to reflect that he had never spent a single day wherein he had not left undone something which he ought to have done, and done something which he ought not to have done. "Oh," says he, "what a stab was that sermon to my wounded soul! It made me wish that my mother's womb had been my grave." And when at another church he heard it affirmed, that man had no right to expect any interest in the merits of Christ, if he had not fulfilled his part, and done all that lay in his power, he thought that if that

were true none but little children could be saved, for he did not believe that any who had lived to years of maturity had done all the good they could and avoided all the evil they might. "Oh," he exclaims, "what deadly physic was that sort of doctrine to my poor sin-sick soul!"

He went to hear dissenters of divers denominations, but to no purpose. He tried the Roman Catholics, but was soon surfeited with their way of worship, which of all ways was the least likely to satisfy a spirit like his. He attended the Quakers' meeting with no better success. For names he cared nothing, nor for what he might be called upon to suffer, so that he might find peace for his soul. "I had now," he says, "tried all but the Jews, and I thought it was to no purpose to go to them;" so he determined to keep to the church, and read and pray, whether he perished or not. A judicious minister, who should have known the man, might have given him the comfort which he sought; but the sort of intercourse between the pastor and his people which this would imply, hardly exists any where in England, and cannot possibly exist in the metropolis, where Nelson was then residing. At this time Whitefield began his campaign in Moorfields, and there it might have been thought that he would have found the right physician, but Whitefield did not touch the string to which his heart accorded. "He was to me," says John Nelson, "as a man that could play well on an instrument, for his preaching was pleasant to me, and I loved the man; so that if

any one offered to disturb him, I was ready to fight for him; but I did not understand him; yet I got some hope of mercy, so that I was encouraged to pray on, and spend my leisure hours in reading the Scriptures." While Nelson was in this state he seldom slept four hours in the night,—sometimes he started from his sleep as if he were falling into a horrible pit; sometimes dreamed that he was fighting with Satan, and awoke exhausted and bathed in sweat from the imaginary conflict.

Thus he continued, till Wesley preached for the first time in Moorfields. "Oh!" says he, "that was a blessed morning for my soul! As soon as he got upon the stand, he stroked back his hair and turned his face towards where I stood, and I thought he fixed his eyes on me. His countenance struck such an awful dread upon me before I heard him speak, that it made my heart beat like the pendulum of a clock; and when he did speak, I thought his whole discourse was aimed at me." Nelson might well think thus, for it was a peculiar characteristic of Wesley in his discourses, that in winding up his sermons,—in pointing his exhortations and driving them home,—he spoke as if he were addressing himself to an individual, so that every one to whom the condition which he described was applicable, felt as if he were singled out; and the preacher's words were then like the eyes of a portrait which seem to look at every beholder. "Who," said the preacher, "Who art thou, that now seest and feelest both thine inward and outward ungodliness? Thou art the man! I want thee

for my Lord, I challenge *thee* for a child of God by faith. The Lord hath need of *thee.* Thou who feelest thou art just fit for hell, art just fit to advance his glory,—the glory of his free grace, justifying the ungodly and him that worketh not. O come quickly! Believe in the Lord Jesus: and *thou,* even *thou,* art reconciled to God." And again,—"Thou ungodly one, who hearest or readest these words, thou vile, helpless miserable sinner, I charge thee before God, the Judge of all, go strait unto Him, with all thy ungodliness! Take heed thou destroy not thine own soul by pleading thy righteousness more or less. Go as altogether ungodly, guilty, lost, destroyed, deserving, and dropping into hell; and thou shalt then find favour in His sight, and know that He justifieth the ungodly. As such thou shalt be brought unto the blood of sprinkling, as an undone, helpless, damned sinner. Thus look unto Jesus! There is the Lamb of God, who taketh away thy sins! Plead thou no works, no righteousness of thine own! No humility, no contrition, sincerity! In no wise! That were in very deed, to deny the Lord that bought thee. No. Plead thou singly, the blood of the covenant, the ransom paid for thy proud, stubborn, sinful soul."

This was the emphatic manner in which Wesley used to address his hearers, knowing as he did, that there would always be some among them to whom it would be precisely adapted. By such an address the course of John Nelson's after life was determined;—the string vibrated now which White-

field had failed to touch; and when the sermon was ended, he said within himself, "this man can tell the secrets of my heart. He hath not left me there, for he hath showed the remedy, even the blood of Jesus." He did not, however, at once make his case known to the preacher, and solicit his particular attention: during all his inward conflicts, there was in his outward actions a coolness and steadiness of conduct, which is the proper virtue of an Englishman. His acquaintances, however, were apprehensive that he was going too far in religion, and would thus bring poverty and distress upon his family by becoming unfit for business, and they wished he had never heard Mr. Wesley, for they were afraid it would be his ruin. His reply was not likely to remove these apprehensions. "I told them," says he, "I had reason to bless God that ever he was born, for by hearing him I was made sensible that my business in this world is to get well out of it; and as for my trade, health, wisdom, and all things in this world, they are no blessings to me any farther than as so many instruments to help me by the grace of God, to work out my salvation." Upon this his friends, with a feeling of indignation arising from the warmth of their good will, replied, "they were very sorry for him, and should be glad to knock Mr. Wesley's brains out, for he would be the ruin of many families, if he were allowed to live and go on as he did." Poor Nelson at this time narrowly escaped being turned out of doors by the persons with whom he lodged, lest some mischief, they said,

should come upon them with so much praying and fuss as he made about religion. But they were good simple people; and a doubt came upon them, that if John should be right and they wrong, it would be a sad thing to turn him out; and John had soon the satisfaction of taking them to hear Mr. Wesley. He risked his employment too by refusing to work at the Exchequer on a Sunday when his master's foreman told him that the King's business required haste, and that it was common to work on the Sunday for His Majesty when any thing was upon the finish. But John stoutly averred, "that he would not work upon the Sabbath for any man in England, except it were to quench fire, or something that required the same immediate help."—"Religion," said the foreman, "has made you a rebel against the King."—"No, Sir," he replied, "it has made me a better subject than ever I was. The greatest enemies the King has, are the Sabbath-breakers, swearers, drunkards and whoremongers, for these pull down God's judgements both upon King and country." He was told that he should lose his employment if he would not obey his orders; his answer was, "he would rather want bread than wilfully offend God." The foreman swore that he would be as mad as Whitefield if he went on. "What hast thou done," said he, "that thou needest make so much ado about salvation? I always took thee to be as honest a man as any I have in the work, and could have trusted thee with five hundred pounds."—"So you might," answered Nelson, "and not have lost

one penny by me."—"I have a worse opinion of thee now," said the foreman.—"Master," he replied, "I have the odds of you; for I have a much worse opinion of myself than you can have." But the end was that the work was not pursued on the Sunday, and that John Nelson rose in the good opinion of his employer for having shown a sense of his duty as a Christian.

He now fasted the whole of every Friday, giving away to the poor the food which he would otherwise have eaten. He spent his leisure hours in prayer, and in reading the Bible; and his desire for the salvation of souls was such, that he actually hired one of his fellow-workmen to go and hear Mr. Wesley preach. The experiment answered, for the workman afterwards told him it was the best thing both for him and his wife that ever man had done for them. When he dreamed of the devil now, it was no longer a dream of horrors; he was a match for him, and seeing him let loose among the people in the shape of a red bull, he took him by the horns and twisted him on his back, and set his right foot upon his neck. A letter came from his wife in the country, with tidings of the death of one darling child, and the desperate illness of another; he received it with a composure which made the by-standers accuse him of hardness of heart; but he was in a high state of exaltation: "his soul," he says, "seemed to breathe its life in God, as naturally as his body breathed life in the common air." This was at the time when the Methodists separated from the Mo-

ravians first, and immediately afterwards from the Calvinists. Both Moravians and Calvinists fell upon John Nelson. The former assured him that Mr. Wesley, poor dear man, was wandering in the dark, a blind leader of the blind; that indeed he was only a John the Baptist, to go before and prepare the way for the brethren; the brethren in Fetter-lane were the men who were to lead people into true stillness; most of his followers had forsaken him, and were become happy sinners,—and he must do the same, otherwise Mr. Wesley would still keep him under the law, and bring him into bondage. On the other hand, the Calvinists affirmed that Mr. Wesley denied the faith of the Gospel, which was predestination and election. He happened to reprove one of these comfortable believers for swearing, and the man replied that he was predestinated to it, and did not trouble himself about it at all, for if he were one of the elect he should be saved, but if he were not, all he could do would not alter God's decree. Nelson blessed God that he had not heard such things in the time of his distress, for he thought they would in that case have been the destruction of his body and soul. He was now able to make his part good against such reasoners; and when they told him that their eyes were opened, that they saw now into the electing love of God, and that, do what they would, they could not finally fall, he said to them: "You have gone out of the highway of holiness, and have got into the devil's pinfold. You are not seeking to perfect holiness in the fear of God, but are resting in

opinions that give you liberty to live after the flesh. Satan," he said, "had preached that doctrine to him before they did, and God had armed him both against him and them." Soon afterwards he had, for the first time, an opportunity of speaking to Mr. Wesley. They walked together some way; and he says it was a blessed conference to him. When they parted, Wesley took him by the hand, and looking him in the face, bade him take care that he did not quench the spirit.

Dreams and impressions, according to his own account, rather than the desire of rejoining his family, induced him now to return to Birstall, his native place, where they resided, and where indeed he had always carefully provided for them, whether he was at home or abroad. Some little discomfort at first attended his return. John was perfectly satisfied that he had received the assurance, and knew his sins were forgiven. His wife and mother entreated him not to say this to any one, for no one would believe him. But he said he should not be ashamed to tell what God had done for his soul, if he could speak loud enough for all the men in the world to hear him at once. His mother said to him, "Your head is turned;" and he replied, "Yes, and my heart too, I thank the Lord." The wife besought him that he would either leave off abusing his neighbours, or go back to London; but he declared that it was his determination to reprove any one who sinned in his presence; she began to weep, and said he did not love her so well as he used to do, and that her happiness was

over, if he believed her to be a child of the devil, and himself a child of God. But Nelson told her he prayed and believed God would make her a blessed companion for him in the way of heaven; and she, who was a good wife, and knew that she had a good husband, soon fell in with his wishes, listened to his teaching, and became as zealous in the cause as himself.

He now began to exhort his neighbours as well as to reprove them, and by defending his doctrines when they were disputed, was led unawares to quote texts of Scripture, expound, and enforce them, in a manner which at length differed from preaching only in the name. This he did in his own house at first, where he had the good fortune to convert most of his relations; and when his auditors became so numerous that the house could not hold them, he then stood at the door and harangued there. Ingham was settled in this neighbourhood with a Moravian society, and he, at Peter Boehler's desire, gave John Nelson leave to exhort them: this permission was withdrawn when the ill temper which the division in London had excited, extended itself here also, and Ingham would then have silenced him, but John said he had not begun by the order of man, and would not leave off by it. Hitherto Nelson had not ventured upon preaching, for preaching it was now become, without strong inward conflicts of reluctance, arising from the natural sobriety of his character, and perhaps from a diffidence of himself; he says he would rather have been hanged on a tree than

go to preach; and once when a great congregation was gathered together begging him to preach, he acted the part of Jonah, and fled into the fields. But opposition stimulated him now; he "desired to die rather than live to see the children devoured by these boars out of the German wood." "God," he says, "opened his word more and more;" in other words, zeal and indignation made him eloquent. He now wrote to Mr. Wesley, telling him what he was doing, and requesting him, "as his father in the Gospel, to write and give him some instructions how to proceed in the work which God had begun by such an unpolished tool as himself." Wesley replied that he would see him in the ensuing * week. He came accordingly to Birstall, and found there a preacher and a large congregation raised up without his interference. Had he been still doubtful whether the admission

* Nelson says, in his Journal, "he sate down by my fire-side, in the very posture I had dreamed about four months before, and spoke the same words I dreamed he spoke." There is no reason either to credit this to the letter, or to discredit the general veracity of this remarkable man, because he is fond of relating his dreams. The universal attention which has been paid to dreams in all ages, proves that the superstition is natural; and I have heard too many well-attested facts (facts to which belief could not be refused upon any known laws of evidence) not to believe that impressions are sometimes made in this manner, and forewarnings communicated which cannot be explained by material philosophy, or mere metaphysics. I do not mean to apply this to such stories as are found in John Nelson's Journal, or in books of a similar kind, most of them are the effects of a distempered imagination. But the particular instance which has occasioned this note, may be explained by a state of mind which many persons will recognize in their own experience,—a state when we seem to feel that the same thing which is then happening to us has happened to us formerly, though there be no remembrance of it other than this dim recognition.

of lay-preachers should make a part of his plan, this must have decided him: "Therefore," in the words of his official biographers, "he now fully acquiesced in the order of God, and rejoiced that the thoughts of God were not as his confused thoughts."

This was Wesley's first expedition to the north of England. He proceeded to Newcastle, being induced to try that scene of action because of the success which he had found among the colliers in Kingswood. Upon entering the town at evening and on foot, the profligacy of the populace surprised as well as shocked him. "So much drunkenness," he says, "cursing and swearing, (even from the mouths of little children,) do I never remember to have seen and heard before, in so small a compass of time. Surely this place is ripe for him who came to call sinners to repentance." At seven on a Sunday morning he walked with his companion to Sandgate, the poorest and most contemptible part of the town, and there he began to sing the hundredth psalm. This soon brought a crowd about him, which continued to increase till he had done preaching. When he had finished, the people still stood staring at him with the most profound astonishment. Upon which he said, "If you desire to know who I am, my name is John Wesley. At five in the evening, with God's help, I design to preach here again." At that hour the hill upon which he intended to preach was covered from top to bottom. "I never," he says, "saw so large a number of people together, either in

Moorfields or at Kennington Common. I knew it was not possible for the one half to hear, although my voice was then strong and clear, and I stood so as to have them all in view as they were ranged on the side of the hill. The word of God which I set before them was, *I will heal their backsliding; I will love them freely.* After preaching, the poor people were ready to tread me under foot, out of pure love and kindness." Wesley could not then remain with them, but his brother soon came and organized them, and in a few months he returned, and began to build a room for what he called the wild, staring, loving society. "I could not but observe," he says, "the different manner wherein God is pleased to work in different places. The grace of God flows here with a wider stream than it did at first, either in Bristol or Kingswood: but it does not sink so deep as it did there. Few are thoroughly convinced of sin, and scarce any can witness that the Lamb of God has taken away their sins." But the usual symptoms were ere long produced. One woman had her sight and strength taken away at once, and at the same time, she said, the love of God so overflowed her soul that she could neither speak nor move. A man also lost his sight for a time, and subjects began to cry out, and sink down in the meeting. "And I could not but observe," says Wesley, "that here the very *best people*, so called, were as deeply convinced as open sinners. Several of these were now constrained to roar aloud for the disquietness of their hearts, and these generally not young, (as

in most other places,) but either middle aged, or well stricken in years. I never saw a work of God in any other place, so evenly and gradually carried on. It continually rises step by step. Not so much seems to be done at any one time, as hath frequently been at Bristol or London, but something at every time. It is the same with particular souls. I saw none in that triumph of faith, which has been so common in other places. But the believers go on calm and steady. Let God do as seemeth him good!".

Calm and steady, however, as Wesley conceived these believers to be, there soon occurred what he himself pronounced a genuine instance of enthusiasm. He had preached at Tanfield Leigh, a few miles from Newcastle, to a people whom he had left, in appearance, "very well satisfied with the preacher and themselves;" the first part of this predicament might be as he desired, but the second was out of time, before they had passed through the grievous process of conviction and regeneration. "So dead, senseless, unaffected a congregation," said he, "I have scarce seen. Whether gospel or law, or English or Greek, seemed all one to them." It was therefore the more grateful to him when he learnt that even there the seed which he had sown was not quite lost; for on the fourth morning after his preaching, a certain John Brown, who had been one of the insensible congregation, "was waked out of sleep by the voice that raiseth the dead, and ever since," says Wesley, "he has been full of love, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." He

had judged too hastily of his patient, for only two days after his new birth, the said John Brown came riding through Newcastle, "hollowing and shouting, and driving all the people before him, telling them God had told him he should be a king, and should tread all his enemies under his feet." It was a clear case that this man had been made crazy by his enthusiasm. Wesley took the right method of curing him; he sent him home immediately to his work, and advised him to cry day and night to God that he might be lowly in heart, lest Satan should again get an advantage over him.

There was some difficulty in obtaining a place at Newcastle whereon to build his meeting-house. "We can get no ground," he says, "for love or money. I like this well. It is a good sign. If the Devil can hinder us he shall." The * purchase at length was made, and the foundation was laid of a meeting and orphan-house upon a scale, for the completion of which it was computed that 700l. would be required. "Many," says Wesley, "were positive it would never be finished at all, others that I should not live to see it covered. I was of another mind, nothing doubting, but as it was begun for God's sake, he would provide what

* In consequence of some demur in obtaining possession, Wesley wrote this characteristic note to the seller: "Sir, I am surprised. You give it under your hand, that you will put me in possession of a piece of ground specified in an article between us in fifteen days' time. Three months are passed and that article is not fulfilled. And now, you say, you can't conceive what I mean by troubling you. I mean to have that article fulfilled. I think my meaning is very plain.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

JOHN WESLEY."

was needful for the finishing it." Contributions did not come in so fast as the work required, and the building would more than once have been at a stop, if he had not possessed credit for being very rich. He had now meeting-houses in Bristol, London, Kingswood and Newcastle, and societies were being rapidly formed in other places by means of itinerancy which was now become a regular system; and by the co-operation of lay-preachers, who sprung up daily among his followers. At this time he judged it expedient to draw up a set of general rules, and this was done with the advice and assistance of his brother. The United Society, as they now denominated it, was defined to be "no other than a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation." The class rules were then laid down, as a means for more easily discerning whether the members were indeed thus employed. The only condition previously required of those who applied for admission was "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved from their sins." But it was expected that all who continued in the society should "continue to evidence their desire of salvation; first, by doing no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind, especially that which is most generally practised; such as, taking the name of God in vain; profaning the Sabbath, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling; drunken-

ness; buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity; fighting, quarrelling, brawling; brother going to law with brother; returning evil for evil, or railing for railing; using many words in buying or selling; buying or selling uncustomed goods; giving or taking things on usury; uncharitable or unprofitable conversation; particularly speaking evil of magistrates or of ministers; doing to others as we would not they should do unto us; and doing what we know is not for the glory of God, as, the putting on of gold, or costly apparel; the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; the singing those songs or reading those books that do not tend to the knowledge or love of God; softness and needless self-indulgence; laying up treasure on earth; borrowing without a probability of paying, or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them. These were the inhibitions which the members of the Society were expected to observe."

They were expected to evidence their desire of salvation, "secondly, by doing good, by being in every kind merciful after their power, as they had opportunity; doing good of every possible sort, and as far as possible to all men, to their bodies, of the ability that God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick or in prison; to their souls, by instructing, reproving or exhorting all they had any intercourse with; trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that we are not

to do good unless our hearts be free to it; by doing good, especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others; buying one of another; helping each other in business; and so much the more, because the world will love its own and them only; by all possible diligence and frugality that the Gospel might not be blamed; by running with patience the race that was set before them, *denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily;* submitting to bear the reproach of Christ,—to be as the filth and offscouring of the world, and looking that men should *say all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake.* They were expected also to attend on all the ordinances of God, such as public worship, the ministry of the word, either read or expounded; the Lord's supper; family and private prayer; searching the Scriptures, and fasting or abstinence."—"These," said the two brothers, "are the general rules of our societies; all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice. And all these we know his Spirit writes on every truly awakened heart. If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be made known unto them who watch over that soul, as they must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways: we will bear with him for a season. But then if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls."

NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE I. Page 4.

Bartholomew Wesley supports himself by the practice of physic.

This should seem to have been the old resource of ejected ministers.

"At the beginning of the happy raigne of our late good Queen Elizabeth, divers commissioners of great place, being authorized to enquire of and to displace all such of the clergie as would not conforme to the reformed church, one amongst others was convented before them, who being asked whether he would subscribe or no, he denied it, and so consequently was adjudged to lose his benefice, and be deprived of his function; whereupon, in his impatience, he said, That if they, meaning the commissioners, held this course, it would cost many a man's life. For which the commissioners called him back againe, and charged him that he had spoke treasonable and seditious words, tending to the raysing of a rebellion or some tumult in the land, for which he should receive the reward of a traitor. And being asked whether he spake those words or no, he acknowledged it, and took upon him the justification thereof; for, said he, ye have taken from me my living and profession of the ministrie. Scholarship is all my portion; and I have no other meanes now left for my maintenance but to turn physitian, and before I shall be absolute master of that mystery, God he knowes how many men's lives it will cost. For few physitians use to try experiments upon their own bodies.

"With us it is a profession can maintaine but a few; and divers of those more indebted to opinion than learning, and

(for the most part) better qualified in discoursing of their travailes than in discerning their patients maladies. For it is growne to be a very huswives trade, where fortune prevailes more than skill. Their best benefactor, the Neapolitan, their grand signieur; the Sorpego, their gonfollinire; the Sciatica, their great marshall, that calles the muster-rolle of them all together at every spring and fall, are all as familiar to her as the cuckow at Cankwood in May. And the cure of them is the skill of every good old ladies cast gentlewoman; when she gives over painting she falls to plastering, and shall have as good practice as the best of them for those kinde of diseases."—*Art of Thriving, by Thomas Powel.* Scott's Somers' Tracts, 7. 200.

By the ancient laws of Spain, no monk was permitted to study physic or law; because when under pretence of studying for the advantage of their brethren they had acquired either of these professions, the Devil used to tempt them to quit their monasteries, and go wandering about the world. —*Partida* 1. *Tit.* 7. *Ley,* 28.

Baxter, after he was fixed at Kidderminster, assisted the people for some time with his advice in physic, and was very successful; but finding it took up so much time as to be burthensome, he at length fixed among them a diligent skilful physician, and bound himself to him by promise, that he would practise no more in common cases.

The excellent George Herbert also writes thus, in the chapter which he entitles,

"*The Parson's Completeness.*"

"The country parson desires to be all to his parish, and not onely a pastour, but a lawyer also, and a physician. Therefore hee endures not that any of his flock should go to law; but in any controversy that they should resort to him as their judge. To this end, he hath gotten to himself some insight in things ordinarily incident and controverted, by experience; and by reading some initiatory treatises in the law, with Dalton's Justice of Peace, and the Abridgements of the Statutes, as also by discourse with men of that profession, whom he hath ever some cases to ask, when he

meets with them; holding that rule, that to put men to discourse of that wherein they are most eminent, is the most gainfull way of conversation. Yet whenever any controversie is brought to him, he never decides it alone, but sends for three or four of the ablest of the parish to hear the cause with him, whom he makes to deliver their opinion first; out of which he gathers, if he be ignorant himself, what to hold, and so the thing passeth with more authority and lesse envy. In judging, he followes that which is altogether right; so that if the poorest man of the parish detain but a pin unjustly from the richest, he absolutely restores it as a judge; but when he hath so done, then he assumes the parson, and exhorts to charity. Neverthelesse, there may happen sometimes some cases wherein he chooseth to permit his parishioners rather to make use of the law then himself: as in cases of an obscure and dark nature, not easily determinable by lawyers themselves; or in cases of high consequence, as establishing of inheritances; or lastly, when the persons in difference are of a contentious disposition, and cannot be gained, but that they still fall from all compromises that have been made. But then he shews them how to go to law, even as brethren, and not as enemies, neither avoiding therefore one another's company, much lesse defaming one another.

Now as the parson is in law, so is he in sickness also: if there be any of his flock sick, hee is their physician, or at least his wife, of whom, instead of the qualities of the world, he asks no other but to have the skill of healing a wound, or helping the sick. But if neither himselfe nor his wife have the skill, and his means serve, hee keeps some young practitioner in his house for the benefit of his parish, whom yet he ever exhorts not to exceed his bounds, but in tickle cases to call in help. If all fail, then he keeps good correspondence with some neighbour physician, and entertaines him for the cure of his parish.

Yet is it easy for any scholar to attain to such a measure of physick as may be of much use to him, both for himself and others. This is done by seeing one anatomy, reading one book of phisick, having one herball by him. And let

Fernelius by the phisick author, for he writes briefly, neatly, and judiciously; especially let his Method of Phisick be diligently perused, as being the practicall part, and of most use. Now both the reading of him, and the knowing of herbs, may be done at such times as they may be an help and a recreation to more divine studies, Nature serving Grace both in comfort of diversion, and the benefit of application when need requires; as also by way of illustration, even as our Saviour made plants and seeds to teach the people; for he was the true householder, who bringeth out of his treasure things new and old; the old things of Philosophy, and the new of Grace, and maketh the one serve the other. And, I conceive, our Saviour did this for three reasons: first, that by familiar things hee might make his doctrines slip the more easily into the hearts even of the meanest. Secondly, that labouring people, whom he chiefly considered might have every where monuments of his doctrine, remembering in gardens his mustard seed and lillyes; in the field, his seed-corn and tares; and so not be drowned altogether in the works of their vocation, but sometimes lift up their minds to better things, even in the midst of their pains. Thirdly, that he might set a copy for Parsons. In the knowledge of simples, wherein the manifold wisdome of God is wonderfully to be seen, one thing would be carefully observed, which is to know what herbs may be used instead of drugs of the same nature, and to make the garden the shop; for home-bred medicines are both more easie for the Parson's purse, and more familiar for all men's bodies. So where the Apothecary useth either for loosing, rhubarb; or for binding, bolcarmena; the Parson useth damask or white roses for the one, and plantain, shepherd's purse, knot-grasse for the other, and that with better successe. As for spices, he doth not only prefer home-bred things before them, but condemns them for vanities, and so shuts them out of his family, esteeming that there is no spice comparable for herbs, to rosemary, time, savoury, mints; and for seeds, to fennell and carroway seeds. Accordingly, for salves his wife seeks not the city, but prefers her gardens and fields before all outlandish gums. And surely hyssope,

valerian, mercury, adder's tongue, yerrow, melilot, and Saint John wort, made into a salve; and elder, camomile mallowes, comphrey, and smallage, made into a poultice, have done great and rare cures. In curing of any, the Parson and his family use to premise prayers, for this is to cure like a Parson, and this raiseth the action from the shop to the church. But though the Parson sets forward all charitable deeds, yet he looks not in this point of curing beyond his own parish, except the person bee so poor that he is not able to reward the physician, for, as hee is charitable, so he is just also. Now, it is a justice and debt to the commonwealth he lives in, not to incroach on others professions, but to live on his own. And justice is the ground of charity."

NOTE II. Page 5.

John Owen.

Cotton Mather has preserved a choice specimen of invective against Dr. Owen, by one of the primitive Quakers, whose name was Fisher. It was, indeed, a species of rhetorick in which they indulged freely, and exceeded all other sectarians. Fisher addressed him thus: "Thou fiery fighter and green-headed trumpeter; thou hedge-hog and grinning dog; thou bastard, that tumbled out of the mouth of the Babylonish bawd; thou mole; thou tinker; thou lizard; thou bell of no metal, but the tone of a kettle; thou wheelbarrow; thou whirlpool; thou whirligig; O thou firebrand; thou adder and scorpion; thou louse; thou cow-dung; thou moon-calf; thou ragged tatterdemallion; thou Judas: thou livest in philosophy and logic, which are of the Devil."

NOTE III. Page 10.

Manner in which the children were taught to read.

Mrs. Wesley thus describes her peculiar method in a letter to her son John: "None of them were taught to

read till five years old, except Kezzy, in whose case I was over-ruled; and she was more years in learning than any of the rest had been months. The way of teaching was this: the day before a child began to learn, the house was set in order, every one's work appointed them, and a charge given, that none should come into the room from nine till twelve, or from two till five, which were our school hours. One day was allowed the child, wherein to learn its letters, and each of them did in that time know all its letters, great and small, except Molly and Nancy, who were a day and a half before they knew them perfectly, for which I then thought them very dull; but the reason, why I thought them so, was because the rest learned them so readily, and your brother Samuel, who was the first child I ever taught, learnt the alphabet in a few hours. He was five years old the tenth of February; the next day he began to learn, and as soon as he knew the letters, began at the first chapter of Genesis. He was taught to spell the first verse; then to read it over and over till he could read it off hand without any hesitation; so on to the second, &c. till he took ten verses for a lesson, which he quickly did. Easter fell low that year, and by Whitsuntide he could read a chapter very well; for he read continually, and had such a prodigious memory, that I cannot remember ever to have told him the same word twice. What was yet stranger, any word he had learnt in his lesson, he knew wherever he saw it, either in his Bible, or any other book; by which means he learnt very soon to read an English author well.

"The same method was observed with them all. As soon as they knew the letters they were first put to spell and read one line; then a verse; never leaving till perfect in their lesson, were it shorter or longer. So one or other continued reading at school-time, without any intermission; and before we left school, each child read what he had learned that morning; and ere we parted in the afternoon, what he had learned that day."

NOTE IV. Page 12.

John Wesley,—born at Epworth.

"I HAVE heard him say," says Mr. Crowther, in his Portraiture of Methodism, (p. 20.) "that he was baptized by the name of John Benjamin; that his mother had buried two sons, one called John, and the other Benjamin, and that she united their names in him. But he never made use of the second name."

Mr. Crowther also says, that, in 1719, Wesley went from the Charter-house to Westminster school, "where he made a more rapid progress in Hebrew and Greek." I have so much admiration of Wesley, and so much Westminster feeling, that I should be glad to believe this. But Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore have distinctly stated that he went from the Charter-house to Oxford; and Mr. Crowther has probably been misled by what Samuel says in a letter to his father:—"Jack is with me, and a brave boy, learning Hebrew as fast as he can." He was probably in his brother's house, during the interval between his leaving school and going to college. But, that he was never at Westminster is certain: a list of all entrances there has been kept from a time earlier than his boyhood; and my friend, Mr. Knox, has ascertained for me, that the name of John Wesley is not in that list.

NOTE V. Page 14.

I am rich enough.

THE day after the fire, as Mr. Wesley was walking in the garden, and surveying the ruins of the house, he picked up part of a leaf of his Polyglot Bible, on which (says his son John), just these words were legible: *Vade, vende omnia quæ habes, et attolle crucem, et sequere me.*—Go, sell all that thou hast, and take up thy cross, and follow me.

How Mr. Wesley surmounted this loss, with his large

family and limited means, does not appear. Mr. Bowyer's house and printing-office were burnt about the same time, and he obtained, by means of a brief, the clear sum of 1514l. 13s. 4½d. Fires were in those days far less frequent than they are now, notwithstanding so much more timber was used in the construction of houses. The increase is more attributable to increased roguery, than to decreased care; though something, no doubt, to the latter cause. But it is only since insurance offices have been established that houses have been set on fire for purposes of fraud: and that in many or most cases in the metropolis this is the fact, is proved by the proportion of fires being so much greater there than in any other city. Where one fire takes place in Manchester or Bristol, there are at least fifty in London.

NOTE VI. Page 20.

Sacheverel's Defence.

BURNET says of it, "It had a great effect on the weaker sort; while it possessed those who knew the man and his ordinary discourses with horror, when they heard him affirm so many falsehoods, with such solemn appeals to God. It was very plain the speech was made for him by others; for the style was correct, and far different from his own."

NOTE VII. Page 26.

LETTERS concerning some Supernatural Disturbances, at my Father's House, at Epworth, in Lincolnshire.*

LETTER I.—*To Mr. Samuel Wesley, from his Mother.*

Dear Sam, January, 12, 1716-7.

THIS evening we were agreeably surprised with your pacquet, which brought the welcome news of your being

* The MS. is in the hand-writing of Mr. S. Wesley. The editor has only added the titles of the letters, denoting the writers, and the persons to whom they were written.

alive, after we had been in the greatest panic imaginable, almost a month, thinking either you was dead, or one of your brothers by some misfortune been killed.

The reason of our fears is as follows. On the first of December, our maid heard, at the door of the dining-room, several dismal groans, like a person in extremes, at the point of death. We gave little heed to her relation, and endeavoured to laugh her out of her fears. Some nights (two or three) after, several of the family heard a strange knocking in divers places, usually three or four knocks at a time, and then stayed a little. This continued every night for a fortnight; sometimes it was in the garret, but most commonly in the nursery, or green chamber. We all heard it but your father, and I was not willing he should be informed of it, lest he should fancy it was against his own death, which, indeed, we all apprehended. But when it began to be so troublesome, both day and night, that few or none of the family durst be alone, I resolved to tell him of it, being minded he should speak to it. At first he would not believe but somebody did it to alarm us; but the night after, as soon as he was in bed, it knocked loudly nine times, just by his bedside. He rose, and went to see if he could find out what it was, but could see nothing. Afterwards he heard it as the rest.

One night it made such a noise in the room over our heads, as if several people were walking, then run up and down stairs, and was so outrageous that we thought the children would be frighted, so your father and I rose, and went down in the dark to light a candle. Just as we came to the bottom of the broad stairs, having hold of each other, on my side there seemed as if somebody had emptied a bag of money at my feet; and on his, as if all the bottles under the stairs (which were many) had been dashed in a thousand pieces. We passed through the hall into the kitchen, and got a candle, and went to see the children, whom we found asleep.

The next night your father would get Mr. Hoole to lie at our house, and we all sat together till one or two o'clock

in the morning, and heard the knocking as usual. Sometimes it would make a noise like the winding up of a jack, at other times, as that night Mr. Hoole was with us, like a carpenter planing deals; but most commonly it knocked thrice and stopped, and then thrice again, and so many hours together. We persuaded your father to speak, and try if any voice would be heard. One night about six o'clock he went into the nursery in the dark, and at first heard several deep groans, then knocking. He adjured it to speak if it had power, and tell him why it troubled his house, but no voice was heard, but it knocked thrice aloud. Then he questioned it if it were Sammy, and bid it, if it were, and could not speak, knock again, but it knocked no more that night, which made us hope it was not against your death.

Thus it continued till the 28th of December, when it loudly knocked (as your father used to do at the gate) in the nursery, and departed. We have various conjectures what this may mean. For my own part, I fear nothing now you are safe at London hitherto, and I hope God will still preserve you. Though sometimes I am inclined to think my brother is dead. Let me know your thoughts on it.

S. W.

LETTER II.—*To my Father.*

Honoured Sir, January 30, Saturday.

My mother tells me a very strange story of disturbances in your house. I wish I could have some more particulars from you. I would thank Mr. Hoole, if he would favour me with a letter concerning it. Not that I want to be confirmed myself in the belief of it, but for any other person's satisfaction. My mother sends to me to know my thoughts of it, and I cannot think at all of any interpretation. Wit, I fancy, might find many, but wisdom none.

Your dutiful and loving Son,

S. WESLEY.

LETTER III.—*From Mr. S. Wesley to his Mother.*

Dear Mother,

THOSE who are so wise as not to believe any supernatural occurrences, though ever so well attested, could find a hundred questions to ask about those strange noises, you wrote me an account of; but for my part, I know not what question to put, which, if answered, would confirm me more in the belief of what you tell me. Two or three I have heard from others. Was there never a new maid, or man, in the house, that might play tricks? Was there no body above in the garrets when the walking was there? Did all the family hear it together when they were in one room, or at one time? Did it seem to all to be in the same place, at the same time? Could not cats, or rats, or dogs, be the sprights? Was the whole family asleep, when my father and you went down stairs? Such doubts as these being replied to, though they could not, as God himself assures us, convince them who believe not Moses and the prophets, yet would strengthen such as do believe. As to my particular opinion, concerning the events forboded by these noises, I cannot, I must confess, form any—I think since it was not permitted to speak, all guesses must be vain. The end of spirits' actions is yet more hidden than that of men, and even this latter puzzles the most subtle politicians. That we may be struck so as to prepare seriously for any ill, may, it is possible, be one design of Providence. It is surely our duty and wisdom to do so.

Dear Mother,

I beg your blessing,

on your dutiful and affectionate Son,

Jan. 19, 1716-7, Saturday, S. WESLEY.
Dean's-Yard, Westminster,

I expect a particular account from every one.

LETTER IV.—*From Mrs. Wesley to her Son Samuel.*

Dear Sam, Jan. 25 or 27, 1716-7.

THOUGH I am not one of those that will believe nothing supernatural, but am rather inclined to think there would

be frequent intercourse between good spirits and us, did not our deep lapse into sensuality prevent it; yet I was a great while ere I could credit any thing of what the children and servants reported, concerning the noises they heard in several parts of our house. Nay, after I had heard them myself, I was willing to persuade myself and them, that it was only rats or weasels that disturbed us; and having been formerly troubled with rats, which were frighted away by sounding a horn, I caused a horn to be procured, and made them blow it all over the house. But from that night they began to blow, the noises were more loud, and distinct, both day and night, than before, and that night we rose, and went down, I was entirely convinced, that it was beyond the power of any human creature to make such strange and various noises.

As to your questions, I will answer them particularly, but withal, I desire my answers may satisfy none but yourself; for I would not have the matter imparted to any. We had both man and maid new this last Martinmas, yet I do not believe either of them occasioned the disturbance, both for the reason above mentioned, and because they were more affrighted than any body else. Besides, we have often heard the noises when they were in the room by us; and the maid particularly was in such a panic, that she was almost incapable of all business, nor durst ever go from one room to another, or stay by herself a minute after it began to be dark.

The man, Robert Brown, whom you well know, was most visited by it lying in the garret, and has been often frighted down bare-foot, and almost naked, not daring to stay alone to put on his clothes, nor do I think, if he had power, he would be guilty of such villainy. When the walking was heard in the garret, Robert was in bed in the next room, in a sleep so sound, that he never heard your father and me walk up and down, though we walked not softly, I am sure. All the family has heard it together, in the same room, at the same time, particularly at family prayers. It always seemed to all present in the same place

at the same time, though often before any could say it is here, it would remove to another place.

All the family, as well as Robin, were asleep when your father and I went down stairs, nor did they wake in the nursery when we held the candle close by them, only we observed that Hetty trembled exceedingly in her sleep, as she always did, before the noise awaked her. It commonly was nearer her than the rest, which she took notice of, and was much frightened, because she thought it had a particular spight at her: I could multiply particular instances, but I forbear. I believe your father will write to you about it shortly. Whatever may be the design of Providence in permitting these things, I cannot say. *Secret things belong to God;* but I intirely agree with you, that it is our wisdom and duty to prepare seriously for all events.

S. WESLEY.

LETTER V.—*From Miss Susannah Wesley to her Brother Samuel.*

Dear Brother, Epworth, Jan. 24.

ABOUT the first of December, a most terrible and astonishing noise was heard by a maid-servant, as at the dining room door, which caused the up-starting of her hair, and made her ears prick forth at an unusual rate. She said, it was like the groans of one expiring. These so frighted her, that for a great while she durst not go out of one room into another, after it began to be dark, without company. But, to lay aside jesting, which should not be done in serious matters, I assure you that from the first to the last of a lunar month, the groans, squeaks, tinglings, and knockings, were frightful enough.

Though it is needless for me to send you any account of what we all heard, my father himself having a larger account of the matter than I am able to give, which he designs to send you; yet, in compliance with your desire, I will tell you as briefly as I can, what I heard of it. The first night I ever heard it, my sister Nancy and I were set in the dining room. We heard something rush on the out-

side of the doors that opened into the garden, then three loud knocks, immediately after other three, and in half a minute the same number over our heads. We enquired whether any body had been in the garden, or in the room above us, but there was nobody. Soon after my sister Molly and I were up after all the family were a' bed, except my sister Nancy, about some business. We heard three bouncing thumps under our feet, which soon made us throw away our work, and tumble into bed. Afterwards the tingling of the latch and warming pan, and so it took its leave that night.

Soon after the above mentioned, we heard a noise as if a great piece of sounding metal was thrown down on the outside of our chamber. We, lying in the quietest part of the house, heard less than the rest for a pretty while, but the latter end of the night that Mr. Hoole sat up on, I lay in the nursery, where it was very violent. I then heard frequent knocks over and under the room where I lay, and at the children's bed head, which was made of boards. It seemed to rap against it very hard and loud, so that the bed shook under them. I heard something walk by my bedside, like a man in a long night gown. The knocks were so loud, that Mr. Hoole came out of their chamber to us. It still continued. My father spoke, but nothing answered. It ended that night with my father's particular knock, very fierce.

It is now pretty quiet, only at our repeating the prayers for the king and prince, when it usually begins, especially when my father says, "Our most gracious Sovereign Lord," &c. This my father is angry at, and designs to say *three* instead of *two* for the royal family. We all heard the same noise, and at the same time, and as coming from the same place. To conclude this, it now makes its personal appearance; but of this more hereafter. Do not say one word of this to our folks, nor give the least hint.

I am,

Your sincere friend and affectionate Sister,

SUSANNAH WESLEY.

LETTER VI.—*Mr. S. Wesley in Answer.*

Dear Sister Suky, Dean's Yard, Feb. 9, 1716-7.

YOUR telling me the spirit has made its personal appearance, without saying how, or to whom, or when, or how long, has excited my curiosity very much. I long mightily for a farther account of every circumstance by your next letter. Do not keep me any longer in the dark. Why need you write the less, because my father is to send me the whole story. Has the disturbance continued since the 28th of December? I understand my father did not hear it all, but a fortnight after the rest. What did he say remarkable to any of you when he did hear it? As to the devil's being an enemy to King George, were I the king myself, I should rather old Nick should be my enemy, than my friend. I do not like the noise of the night gown sweeping along the ground, nor its knocking like my father. Write when you receive this, though nobody else should, to your loving brother,

S. W.

LETTER VII.—*Mr. S. Wesley to his Mother.*

Dear Mother,

YOU say you could multiply particular instances of the spirit's noises, but I want to know whether nothing was ever seen by any. For though it is hard to conceive, nay, morally impossible, that the hearing of so many people could be deceived, yet the truth will be still more manifest and undeniable, if it is grounded on the testimony of two senses. Has it never at all disturbed you since the 28th of December? Did no circumstance give any light into the design of the whole?

Your obedient and loving Son,

Feb. 12. S. WESLEY.

Have you dug in the place where the money seemed poured at your feet?

LETTER VIII.—*Mr. S. Wesley to his Father.*

Honoured Sir,

I HAVE not yet received any answer to the letter I wrote some time ago, and my mother in her last seems to say, that as yet I know but a very small part of the whole story of strange noises in our house. I shall be exceedingly glad to have the entire account from you. Whatever may be the main design of such wonders, I cannot think they were ever meant to be kept secret. If they bode any thing remarkable to our family, I am sure I am a party concerned.

Your dutiful Son,

Feb. 12. S. WESLEY.

LETTER IX.—*From Mr. S. Wesley to his Sister Emily.*

Dear Sister Emily,

I WISH you would let me have a letter from you about the spirit, as indeed from every one of my sisters. I cannot think any of you very superstitious, unless you are much changed since I saw you. My sister Hetty, I find, was more particularly troubled. Let me know all. Did any thing appear to her? I am,

Your affectionate Brother,

Feb. 12. S. WESLEY.

LETTER X.—*From old Mr. Wesley to his Son Samuel.*

Dear Sam, Feb. 11, 1716-7.

As for the noises, &c. in our family, I thank God we are now all quiet. There were some surprising circumstances in that affair. Your mother has not written you a third part of it. When I see you here, you shall see the whole account, which I wrote down. It would make a glorious penny book for Jack Dunton; but while I live I am not ambitious for any thing of that nature. I think that's all, but blessings, from

Your loving Father,

SAM. WESLEY.

The following Letter I received at the same time, though it has no date.

LETTER XI.—*From Miss Emily Wesley to her Brother Samuel.*

Dear Brother, ...

I THANK you for your last, and shall give you what satisfaction is in my power, concerning what has happened in our family. I am so far from being superstitious, that I was too much inclined to infidelity, so that I heartily rejoice at having such an opportunity of convincing myself past doubt or scruple, of the existence of some beings besides those we see. A whole month was sufficient to convince any body of the reality of the thing, and to try all ways of discovering any trick, had it been possible for any such to have been used. I shall only tell you what I myself heard, and leave the rest to others.

My sisters in the paper chamber had heard noises, and told me of them, but I did not much believe, till one night, about a week after the first groans were heard, which was the beginning, just after the clock had struck ten, I went down stairs to lock the doors, which I always do. Scarce had I got up the best stairs, when I heard a noise, like a person throwing down a vast coal in the middle of the fore kitchen, and all the splinters seemed to fly about from it. I was not much frighted, but went to my sister Suky, and we together went all over the low rooms, but there was nothing out of order.

Our dog was fast asleep, and our only cat in the other end of the house. No sooner was I got up stairs, and undressing for bed, but I heard a noise among many bottles that stand under the best stairs, just like the throwing of a great stone among them, which had broke them all to pieces. This made me hasten to bed; but my sister Hetty, who sits always to wait on my father going to bed, was still sitting on the lowest step on the garret stairs, the door being shut at her back, when soon after there came down the stairs behind her, something like a man, in a loose night-

gown trailing after him, which made her fly rather than run to me in the nursery.

All this time we never told our father of it, but soon after we did. He smiled, and gave no answer, but was more careful than usual, from that time, to see us in bed, imagining it to be some of us young women, that sat up late, and made a noise. His incredulity, and especially his imputing it to us, or our lovers, made me, I own, desirous of its continuance till he was convinced. As for my mother, she firmly believed it to be rats, and sent for a horn to blow them away. I laughed to think how wisely they were employed, who were striving half a day to fright away Jeffrey, for that name I gave it, with a horn.

But whatever it was, I perceived it could be made angry. For from that time it was so outrageous, there was no quiet for us after ten at night. I heard frequently between ten and eleven, something like the quick winding up of a jack, at the corner of the room by my bed's head, just like the running of the wheels and the creaking of the iron work. This was the common signal of its coming. Then it would knock on the floor three times, then at my sister's bed's head in the same room, almost always three together, and then stay. The sound was hollow, and loud, so as none of us could ever imitate.

It would answer to my mother, if she stamped on the floor, and bid it. It would knock when I was putting the children to bed, just under me where I sat. One time little Kesy, pretending to scare Patty, as I was undressing them, stamped with her foot on the floor, and immediately it answered with three knocks, just in the same place. It was more loud and fierce if any one said it was rats, or any thing natural.

I could tell you abundance more of it, but the rest will write, and therefore it would be needless. I was not much frighted at first, and very little at last; but it was never near me, except two or three times, and never followed me, as it did my sister Hetty. I have been with her when it has knocked under her, and when she has removed has

followed, and still kept just under her feet, which was enough to terrify a stouter person.

If you would know my opinion of the reason of this, I shall briefly tell you. I believe it to be witchcraft, for these reasons. About a year since, there was a disturbance at a town near us, that was undoubtedly witches; and if so near, why may they not reach us? Then my father had for several Sundays before its coming preached warmly against consulting those that are called cunning men, which our people are given to; and it had a particular spight at my father.

Besides, something was thrice seen. The first time by my mother, under my sister's bed, like a badger, only without any head that was discernible. The same creature was sat by the dining-room fire one evening; when our man went into the room, it run by him, through the hall under the stairs. He followed with a candle, and searched, but it was departed. The last time he saw it in the kitchen, like a white rabbit, which seems likely to be some witch; and I do so really believe it to be one, that I would venture to fire a pistol at it, if I saw it long enough. It has been heard by me and others since December. I have filled up all my room, and have only time to tell you, I am,

Your loving sister,

EMILIA WESLEY.

LETTER XII.—*Miss Susannah Wesley to her Brother Samuel.*

Dear Brother Wesley, March 27.

I SHOULD farther satisfy you concerning the disturbances, but it is needless, because my sisters Emilia and Hetty write so particularly about it. One thing I believe you do not know, that is, last Sunday, to my father's no small amazement, his trencher danced upon the table a pretty while, without any body's stirring the table. When lo! an adventurous wretch took it up, and spoiled the sport, for it remained still ever after. How glad should I be to talk

with you about it. Send me some news, for we are secluded from the sight, or hearing, of any versal thing except Jeffrey.

SUSANNAH WESLEY.

A Passage in a Letter from my Mother to me, dated March 27, 1717.

I CANNOT imagine how you should be so curious about our unwelcome guest. For my part I am quite tired with hearing or speaking of it; but if you come among us, you will find enough to satisfy all your scruples, and perhaps may hear or see it yourself.

S. WESLEY.

A Passage in a Letter from my Sister Emily to Mr. N. Berry, dated April 1.

TELL my brother the spright was with us last night, and heard by many of our family, especially by our maid and myself. She sat up with drink, and it came just at one o'clock, and opened the dining room door. After some time it shut again. She saw as well as heard it both shut and open; then it began to knock as usual. But I dare write no longer, lest I should hear it.

EMILIA WESLEY.

My Father's Journal, or Diary, transcribed by my Brother Jack, August 27, 1726, and from him by me, February 7, 1730-1.

An Account of Noises and Disturbances in my House, at Epworth, Lincolnshire, in December and January, 1716.

FROM the first of December, my children and servants heard many strange noises, groans, knockings, &c. in every story, and most of the rooms of my house. But I hearing nothing of it myself, they would not tell me for some time, because, according to the vulgar opinion, if it boded

any ill to me, I could not hear it. When it increased, and the family could not easily conceal it, they told me of it.

My daughters Susannah and Ann, were below stairs in the dining room, and heard first at the doors, then over their heads, and the night after a knocking under their feet, though nobody was in the chambers or below them. The like they and my servants heard in both the kitchens, at the door against the partition, and over them. The maid servant heard groans as of a dying man. My daughter Emilia coming down stairs to draw up the clock, and lock the doors at ten at night, as usual, heard under the staircase a sound among some bottles there, as if they had been all dashed to pieces; but when she looked, all was safe.

Something, like the steps of a man, was heard going up and down stairs, at all hours of the night, and vast rumblings below stairs, and in the garrets. My man, who lay in the garret, heard some one come slaring through the garret to his chamber, rattling by his side, as if against his shoes, though he had none there; at other times walking up and down stairs, when all the house were in bed, and gobling like a turkey cock. Noises were heard in the nursery, and all the other chambers; knocking first at the feet of the bed and behind it; and a sound like that of dancing in a matted chamber, next the nursery, when the door was locked, and nobody in it.

My wife would have persuaded them it was rats within doors, and some unlucky people knocking without; till at last we heard several loud knocks in our own chamber, on my side of the bed; but till, I think, the 21st at night I heard nothing of it. That night I was waked a little before one, by nine distinct very loud knocks, which seemed to be in the next room to ours, with a sort of a pause at every third stroke. I thought it might be somebody without the house, and having got a stout mastiff, hoped he would soon rid me of it.

The next night I heard six knocks, but not so loud as the former. I know not whether it was in the morning after Sunday the 23d, when about seven my daughter

Emily called her mother into the nursery, and told her she might now hear the noises there. She went in, and heard it at the bedsteads, then under the bed, then at the head of it. She knocked, and it answered her. She looked under the bed, and thought something ran from thence, but could not well tell of what shape, but thought it most like a badger.

The next night but one, we were awaked about one, by the noises, which were so violent, it was in vain to think of sleep while they continued. I rose, and my wife would rise with me. We went into every chamber, and down stairs; and generally as we went into one room, we heard it in that behind us, though all the family had been in bed several hours. When we were going down stairs, and at the bottom of them, we heard, as Emily had done before, a clashing among the bottles, as if they had been broke all to pieces, and another sound distinct from it, as if a peck of money had been thrown down before us. The same, three of my daughters heard at another time.

We went through the hall into the kitchen, when our mastiff came whining to us, as he did always after the first night of its coming; for then he barked violently at it, but was silent afterwards, and seemed more afraid than any of the children. We still heard it rattle and thunder in every room above or behind us, locked as well as open, except my study, where as yet it never came. After two, we went to bed, and were pretty quiet the rest of the night.

Wednesday night, December 26, after or a little before ten, my daughter Emilia heard the signal of its beginning to play, with which she was perfectly acquainted; it was like the strong winding up of a jack. She called us, and I went into the nursery, where it used to be most violent. The rest of the children were asleep. It began with knocking in the kitchen underneath, then seemed to be at the bed's feet, then under the bed, at last at the head of it. I went down stairs, and knocked with my stick against the joists of the kitchen. It answered me as often and as loud as I knocked; but then I knocked as I usually do at my

door, 1—2 3 4 5 6—7, but this puzzled it, and it did not answer, or not in the same method; though the children heard it do the same exactly twice or thrice after.

I went up stairs, and found it still knocking hard, though with some respite, sometimes under the bed, sometimes at the bed's head. I observed my children that they were frighted in their sleep, and trembled very much till it waked them. I stayed there alone, bid them go to sleep, and sat at the bed's feet by them, when the noise began again. I asked it what it was, and why it disturbed innocent children, and did not come to me in my study, if it had any thing to say to me. Soon after it gave one knock on the outside of the house. All the rest were within, and knocked off for that night.

I went out of doors, sometimes alone, at others with company, and walked round the house, but could see or hear nothing. Several nights the latch of our lodging chamber would be lifted up very often, when all were in bed. One night, when the noise was great in the kitchen, and on a deal partition, and the door in the yard, the latch whereof was often lifted up, my daughter Emilia went, and held it fast on the inside, but it was still lifted up, and the door pushed violently against her, though nothing was to be seen on the outside.

When we were at prayers, and came to the prayers for King George and the Prince, it would make a great noise over our heads constantly, whence some of the family called it a Jacobite. I have been thrice pushed by an invisible power, once against the corner of my desk in the study, a second time against the door of the matted chamber, a third time against the right side of the frame of my study door, as I was going in.

I followed the noise into almost every room in the house, both by day and by night, with lights and without, and have sat alone for some time, and when I heard the noise, spoke to it to tell me what it was, but never heard any articulate voice, and only once or twice two or three feeble squeaks, a

little louder than the chirping of a bird, but not like the noise of rats, which I have often heard.

I had designed on Friday, December the 28th, to make a visit to a friend, Mr. Downs, at Normandy, and stay some days with him, but the noises were so boisterous on Thursday night, that I did not care to leave my family. So I went to Mr. Hoole, of Haxey, and desired his company on Friday night. He came; and it began after ten, a little later than ordinary. The younger children were gone to bed, the rest of the family and Mr. Hoole were together in the matted chamber. I sent the servants down to fetch in some fuel, went with them, and staid in the kitchen till they came in. When they were gone, I heard loud noises against the doors and partition, and at length the usual signal, though somewhat after the time. I had never heard it before, but knew it by the description my daughter had given me. It was much like the turning about of a windmill when the wind changes. When the servants returned, I went up to the company, who had heard the other noises below, but not the signal. We heard all the knocking as usual, from one chamber to another, but at its going off, like the rubbing of a beast against the wall; but from that time till January the 24th, we were quiet.

Having received a letter from Samuel the day before relating to it, I read what I had written of it to my family; and this day at morning prayer, the family heard the usual knocks at the prayer for the King. At night they were more distinct, both in the prayer for the King, and that for the Prince; and one very loud knock at the *amen* was heard by my wife, and most of my children, at the inside of my bed. I heard nothing myself. After nine, Robert Brown sitting alone by the fire in the back kitchen, something came out of the copper hole like a rabbit, but less, and turned round five times very swiftly. Its ears lay flat upon its neck, and its little scut stood straight up. He ran after it with the tongs in his hands, but when he could find nothing, he was frighted, and went to the maid in the parlour.

On Friday, the 25th, having prayers at church, I shortened, as usual, those in the family at morning, omitting the confession, absolution, and prayers for the king and prince. I observed, when this is done, there is no knocking. I therefore used them one morning for a trial; at the name of King George, it began to knock, and did the same when I prayed for the Prince. Two knocks I heard, but took no notice after prayers, till after all who were in the room, ten persons besides me, spoke of it, and said they heard it. No noise at all the rest of the prayers.

Sunday, January 27. Two soft strokes at the morning prayers for King George, above stairs.

Addenda to and from my Father's Diary.

FRIDAY, December 21. Knocking I heard first, I think, this night; to which disturbances, I hope, God will in his good time put an end.

Sunday, December 23. Not much disturbed with the noises that are now grown customary to me.

Wednesday, December 26. Sat up to hear noises. Strange! spoke to it, knocked off.

Friday, 28. The noises very boisterous and disturbing this night.

Saturday, 29. Not frighted, with the continued disturbance of my family.

Tuesday, January 1, 1717. My family have had no disturbance since I went.

Memorandum of Jack's.

THE first time my mother ever heard any unusual noise at Epworth, was long before the disturbance of old Jeffery. My brother, lately come from London, had one evening a sharp quarrel with my sister Suky, at which time my mother happening to be above in her own chamber, the door and windows rung and jarred very loud, and presently several distinct strokes, three by three, were struck. From that night it never failed to give notice in much the same manner, against any signal misfortune, or illness of any belonging to the family.

Of the general Circumstances which follow, most, if not all, the Family were frequent Witnesses.

1. PRESENTLY after any noise was heard, the wind commonly rose, and whistled very loud round the house, and increased with it.

2. The signal was given, which my father likens to the turning round of a windmill when the wind changes; Mr. Hoole (Rector of Haxey) to the planing of deal boards; my sister to the swift winding up of a jack. It commonly began at the corner of the top of the nursery.

3. Before it came into any room, the latches were frequently lifted up, the windows clattered, and whatever iron or brass was about the chamber, rung and jarred exceedingly.

4. When it was in any room, let them make what noise they would, as they sometimes did on purpose, its dead hollow note would be clearly heard above them all.

5. It constantly knocked while the prayers for the King and Prince were repeating, and was plainly heard by all in the room, but my father, and sometimes by him, as were also the thundering knocks at the *amen*.

6. The sound very often seemed in the air in the middle of a room, nor could they ever make any such themselves, by any contrivance.

7. Though it seemed to rattle down the pewter, to clap the doors, draw the curtains, kick the man's shoes up and down, &c. yet it never moved any thing except the latches, otherwise than making it tremble; unless once, when it threw open the nursery door.

8. The mastiff, though he barked violently at it the first day he came, yet whenever it came after that, nay, sometimes before the family perceived it, he ran whining, or quite silent, to shelter himself behind some of the company.

9. It never came by day, till my mother ordered the horn to be blown.

10. After that time, scarce any one could go from one room into another, but the latch of the room they went to was lifted up before they touched it.

11. It never came once into my father's study, till he talked to it sharply, called it *deaf and dumb devil*, and bid it cease to disturb the innocent children, and come to him in his study, if it had any thing to say to him.

12. From the time of my mother's desiring it not to disturb her from five to six, it was never heard in her chamber from five till she came down stairs, nor at any other time, when she was employed in devotion.

13. Whether our clock went right or wrong, it always came, as near as could be guessed, when by the night it wanted a quarter of ten.

My Mother's Account to Jack.

Aug. 27, 1726.

About ten days after Nanny Marshall had heard unusual groans at the dining-room door, Emily came and told me that the servants and children had been several times frighted with strange groans and knockings about the house. I answered, that the rats John Maw had frightened from his house, by blowing a horn there, were come into ours, and ordered that one should be sent for. Molly was much displeased at it, and said, if it was any thing supernatural, it certainly would be very angry, and more troublesome. However, the horn was blown in the garrets; and the effect was, that whereas before the noises were always in the night, from this time they were heard at all hours, day and night.

Soon after, about seven in the morning, Emily came and desired me to go into the nursery, where I should be convinced they were not startled at nothing. On my coming thither, I heard a knocking at the feet, and quickly after at the head of the bed. I desired if it was a spirit it would answer me, and knocking several times with my foot on the ground with several pauses, it repeated under the sole of my feet exactly the same number of strokes, with the very same intervals. Kezzy then six or seven years old, said, let it answer me too, if it can, and stamping, the same

sounds were returned that she made, many times, successively.

Upon my looking under the bed, something ran out pretty much like a badger, and seemed to run directly under Emily's petticoats, who sat opposite to me on the other side. I went out, and one or two nights after, when we were just got to bed, I heard nine strokes, three by three, on the other side the bed, as if one had struck violently on a chest with a large stick. Mr. Wesley leapt up, called Hetty, who alone was up in the house, and searched every room in the house, but to no purpose. It continued from this time to knock and groan frequently at all hours, day and night; only I earnestly desired it might not disturb me between five and six in the evening, and there never was any noise in my room after during that time.

At other times, I have often heard it over my mantel tree, and once, coming up after dinner, a cradle seemed to be strongly rocked in my chamber. When I went in the sound seemed to be in the nursery. When I was in the nursery, it seemed in my chamber again. One night Mr. W. and I were waked by some one running down the garret stairs, then down the broad stairs, then up the narrow ones, then up the garret stairs, then down again, and so the same round. The rooms trembled as it passed along, and the doors shook exceedingly, so that the clattering of the latches was very loud.

Mr. W. proposing to rise, I rose with him, and went down the broad stairs, hand in hand, to light a candle. Near the foot of them a large pot of money seemed to be poured out at my waist, and to run jingling down my night-gown to my feet. Presently after we heard the noise as of a vast stone thrown among several dozen of bottles, which lay under the stairs: but upon our looking no hurt was done. In the hall the mastiff met us, crying and striving to get between us. We returned up into the nursery, where the noise was very great. The children were all asleep, but panting, trembling, and sweating extremely.

Shortly after, on Mr. Wesley's invitation, Mr. Hoole staid a night with us. As we were all sitting round the

fire in the matted chamber, he asked whether that gentle knocking was *it?* I told him yes, and it continued the sound, which was much lower than usual. This was observable that while we were talking loud in the same room, the noise, seemingly lower than any of our voices, was distinctly heard above them all. These were the most remarkable passages I remember, except such as were common to all the family.

My Sister Emily's Account to Jack.

About a fortnight after the time when, as I was told, the noises were heard, I went from my mother's room, who was just gone to bed, to the best chamber, to fetch my sister Suky's candle. When I was there, the windows and doors began to jar, and ring exceedingly, and presently after I heard a sound in the kitchen, as if a vast stone coal had been thrown down, and mashed to pieces. I went down thither with my candle, and found nothing more than usual; but as I was going by the screen, something began knocking on the other side, just even with my head. When I looked on the inside, the knocking was on the outside of it; but as soon as I could get 'round, it was at the inside again. I followed to and fro several times, till at last, finding it to no purpose, and turning about to go away before I was out of the room, the latch of the back kitchen door was lifted up many times. I opened the door and looked out, but could see nobody. I tried to shut the door, but it was thrust against me, and I could feel the latch, which I held in my hand, moving upwards at the same time. I looked out again, but finding it was labour lost, clapped the door to, and locked it. Immediately the latch was moved strongly up and down, but I left it, and went up the worst stairs, from whence I heard, as if a great stone had been thrown among the bottles, which lay under the best stairs. However I went to bed.

From this time, I heard it every night, for two or three

weeks. It continued a month in its full majesty, night and day. Then it intermitted a fortnight or more, and when it began again, it knocked only on nights, and grew less and less troublesome, till at last it went quite away. Towards the latter end it used to knock on the outside of the house, and seemed farther and farther off, till it ceased to be heard at all.

My Sister Molly's Account to Jack.

Aug. 27.

I HAVE always thought it was in November, the rest of our family think it was the 1st of December 1716, when Nanny Marshall, who had a bowl of butter in her hand, ran to me, and two or three more of my sisters, in the dining room, and told us she had heard several groans in the hall, as of a dying man. We thought it was Mr. Turpine, who had the stone, and used sometimes to come and see us. About a fortnight after, when my sister Suky and I were going to bed, she told me how she was frightened in the dining room, the day before, by a noise, first at the folding door, and then over head. I was reading at the table, and had scarce told her I believed nothing of it, when several knocks were given just under my feet. We both made haste into bed, and just as we laid down, the warming pan by the bedside jarred and rung, as did the latch of the door, which was lifted swiftly up and down, presently a great chain seemed to fall on the outside of the door (we were in the best chamber), the door, latch, hinges, the warming pan, and windows jarred, and the house shook from top to bottom.

A few days after, between five and six in the evening, I was by myself in the dining room. The door seemed to open, though it was still shut, and somebody walked in a night-gown trailing upon the ground (nothing appearing), and seemed to go leisurely round me. I started up, and ran up stairs to my mother's chamber, and told the story to her and my sister Emily. A few nights after, my father

ordered me to light him to his study. Just as he had unlocked it, the latch was lifted up for him. The same (after we blew the horn) was often done to me, as well by day as by night. Of many other things all the family as well as me were witnesses.

My father went into the nursery from the matted chamber, where we were, by himself in the dark. It knocked very loud on the press bed head. He adjured it to tell him why it came, but it seemed to take no notice; at which he was very angry, spoke sharply, called it *deaf and dumb devil*, and repeated his adjuration. My sisters were terribly afraid it would speak. When he had done, it knocked his knock on the bed's head, so exceeding violently, as if it would break it to shivers, and from that time we heard nothing till near a month after.

My Sister Suky's Account to Jack.

I BELIEVED nothing of it till about a fortnight after the first noises, then one night I sat up on purpose to hear it. While I was working in the best chamber, and earnestly desiring to hear it, a knocking began just under my feet. As I knew the room below was locked, I was frightened, and leapt into bed with all my cloaths on. I afterwards heard as it were a great chain fall, and after some time, the usual noises at all hours of the day and night. One night hearing it was most violent in the nursery, I resolved to lie there. Late at night, several strong knocks were given on the two lowest steps of the garret stairs, which were close to the nursery door. The latch of the door then jarred, and seemed to be swiftly moved to and fro, and presently began knocking about a yard within the room on the floor. It then came gradually to sister Hetty's bed, who trembled strongly in her sleep. It beat very loud three strokes at a time, on the bed's head. My father came, and adjured it to speak, but it knocked on for some time, and then removed to the room over, where it knocked my father's knock on the ground, as if it would beat the house down.

I had no mind to stay longer, but got up, and went to sister Em and my mother, who were in her room. From thence we heard the noises again from the nursery.* I proposed playing a game at cards, but we had scarce begun, when a knocking began under our feet. We left off playing, and it removed back again into the nursery, where it continued till towards morning.

Sister Nancy's Account to Jack.

Sept. 10.

THE first noise my sister Nancy heard, was in the best chamber, with my sister Molly and my sister Suky; soon after my father had ordered her to blow a horn in the garrets, where it was knocking violently. She was terribly afraid, being obliged to go in the dark, and kneeling down on the stairs, desired that, as she acted not to please herself, it might have no power over her. As soon as she came into the room, the noise ceased, nor did it begin again till near ten; but then, and for a good while, it made much greater and more frequent noises than it had done before. When she afterwards came into the chamber in the day time, it commonly walked after her, from room to room. It followed her from one side of the bed to the other, and back again, as often as she went back; and whatever she did which made any sort of noise, the same thing seemed just to be done behind her.

When five or six were set in the nursery together, a cradle would seem to be strongly rocked in the room over, though no cradle had ever been there. One night she was sitting on the press bed, playing at cards with some of my sisters, when my sister Molly, Etty, Patty, and Kezzy, were in the room, and Robert Brown. The bed on which my sister Nancy sat, was lifted up with her on it. She leapt down and said, "surely old Jeffery would not run away with her." However, they persuaded her to sit down again, which she had scarce done, when it was again lifted up several times successively, a considerable height, upon

which she left her seat, and would not be prevailed upon to sit there any more.

Whenever they began to mention Mr. S. it presently began to knock, and continued to do so till they changed the discourse. All the time my sister Suky was writing her last letter to him, it made a very great noise all round the room, and, the night after she set out for London, it knocked till morning with scarce any intermission.

Mr. Hoole read prayers once, but it knocked as usual at the prayers for the King and Prince. The knockings at those prayers were only towards the beginning of the disturbances, for a week or thereabouts.

The Rev. Mr. Hoole's Account.

Sept. 16.

As soon as I came to Epworth, Mr. Wesley telling me, he sent for me to conjure, I knew not what he meant, till some of your sisters told me what had happened, and that I was sent for to sit up. I expected every hour, it being then about noon, to hear something extraordinary, but to no purpose. At supper, too, and at prayers, all was silent, contrary to custom; but soon after one of the maids, who went up to sheet a bed, brought the alarm that Jeffery was come above stairs. We all went up, and as we were standing round the fire in the east chamber, something began knocking just on the other side of the wall, on the chimney-piece, as with a key. Presently the knocking was under our feet, Mr. Wesley and I went down, he with a great deal of hope, and I with fear. As soon as we were in the kitchen, the sound was above us, in the room we had left. We returned up the narrow stairs, and heard, at the broad stairs head, some one slaring with their feet (all the family being now in bed beside us) and then trailing, as it were, and rustling with a silk night-gown. Quickly it was in the nursery, at the bed's head, knocking as it had done at first, three by three. Mr. Wesley spoke to it, and said he believed it was the devil, and soon after it knocked at the window, and changed its sound into one like the planing of boards.

From thence it went on the outward south side of the house, sounding fainter and fainter, till it was heard no more.

I was at no other time than this during the noises at Epworth, and do not now remember any more circumstances than these.

Epworth, Sept. 1.

My sister Kezzy says she remembers nothing else, but that it knocked my father's knock, ready to beat the house down in the nursery one night.

Robin Brown's Account of Jack.

THE first time Robin Brown, my father's man, heard it, was when he was fetching down some corn from the garrets. Somewhat knocked on a door just by him, which made him run away down stairs. From that time it used frequently to visit him in bed, walking up the garret stairs, and in the garrets, like a man in jack-boots, with a night-gown trailing after him, then lifting up his latch and making it jar, and making presently a noise in his room like the gobbling of a turkey-cock, then stumbling over his shoes or boots by the bedside. He was resolved once to be too hard for it, and so took a large mastiff we had just got to bed with him, and left his shoes and boots below stairs; but he might as well have spared his labour, for it was exactly the same thing, whether any were there or no. The same sound was heard as if there had been forty pairs. The dog indeed was a great comfort to him, for as soon as the latch began to jar, he crept into bed, made such an howling and barking together, in spite of all the man could do, that he alarmed most of the family.

Soon after, being grinding corn in the garrets, and happening to stop a little, the handle of the mill was turned round with great swiftness. He said nothing vexed him, but that the mill was empty. If corn had been in it, old Jeffery might have ground his heart out for him; he would never have disturbed him.

One night, being ill, he was leaning his head upon the back kitchen chimney (the jam he called it) with the tongs in his hands, when, from behind the oven-stop, which lay by the fire, somewhat came out like a white rabbit. It turned round before him several times, and then ran to the same place again. He was frighted, started up, and ran with the tongs into the parlour (dining room.)

D. R. Epworth, Aug. 31.

Betty Massy one day came to me in the parlour, and asked me if I had heard old Jeffery, for she said she thought there was no such thing. When we had talked a little about it, I knocked three times with a reel I had in my hand, against the dining-room ceiling, and the same were presently repeated. She desired me to knock so again, which I did, but they were answered with three more so violently as shook the house, though no one was in the chamber over us. She prayed me to knock no more for fear it should come in to us.

Epworth, Aug. 31, 1726.

John and Kitty Maw, who lived over against us, listened several nights in the time of the disturbance, but could never hear any thing.

NARRATIVE drawn up by John Wesley, and published by him in the Arminian Magazine.

When I was very young, I heard several letters read, wrote to my elder brother by my father, giving an account of strange disturbances, which were in his house at Epworth, in Lincolnshire.

When I went down thither, in the year 1720, I carefully enquired into the particulars. I spoke to each of the persons who were then in the house, and took down what each could testify of his or her own knowledge. The sum of which was this.

On Dec. 2, 1716, while Robert Brown, my father's servant, was sitting with one of the maids a little before

ten at night, in the dining room which opened into the garden, they both heard one knocking at the door. Robert rose and opened it, but could see nobody. Quickly it knocked again and groaned. "It is Mr. Turpine," said Robert: "he has the stone and uses to groan so." He opened the door again twice or thrice, the knocking being twice or thrice repeated. But still seeing nothing, and being a little startled, they rose and went up to bed. When Robert came to the top of the garret stairs, he saw a hand mill, which was at a little distance, whirled about very swiftly. When he related this he said, "Nought vexed me, but that it was empty. I thought, if it had but been full of malt he might have ground his heart out for me." When he was in bed, he heard as it were the gobbling of a turkey-cock, close to the bed side: and soon after, the sound of one stumbling over his shoes and boots, but there were none there: he had left them below. The next day, he and the maid related these things to the other maid, who laughed heartily, and said, "What a couple of fools are you! I defy any thing to fright me." After churning in the evening, she put the butter in the tray, and had no sooner carried it into the dairy, than she heard a knocking on the shelf where several puncheons of milk stood, first above the shelf, then below; she took the candle and searched both above and below; but being able to find nothing, threw down butter, tray, and all, and ran away for life. The next evening between five and six o'clock, my sister Molly, then about twenty years of age, sitting in the dining room, reading, heard as if it were the door that lead into the hall open, and a person walking in, that seemed to have on a silk night-gown, rustling and trailing along. It seemed to walk round her, then to the door, then round again: but she could see nothing. She thought, "it signifies nothing to run away; for whatever it is, it can run faster than me." So she rose, put her book under her arm, and walked slowly away. After supper, she was sitting with my sister Suky, (about a year older than her,)

in one of the chambers, and telling her what had happened, she quite made light of it; telling her, "I wonder you are so easily frighted; I would fain see what would fright me." Presently a knocking began under the table. She took the candle and looked, but could find nothing. Then the iron casement began to clatter, and the lid of a warming pan. Next the latch of the door moved up and down without ceasing. She started up, leaped into the bed without undressing, pulled the bed clothes over her head, and never ventured to look up till next morning. A night or two after, my sister Hetty, a year younger than my sister Molly, was waiting as usual, between nine and ten, to take away my father's candle, when she heard one coming down the garret stairs, walking slowly by her, then going down the best stairs, then up the back stairs, and up the garret stairs. And at every step, it seemed the house shook from top to bottom. Just then my father knocked. She went in, took his candle, and got to bed as fast as possible. In the morning she told this to my eldest sister, who told her, "You know, I believe none of these things. Pray let me take away the candle to night and I will find out the trick." She accordingly took my sister Hetty's place, and had no sooner taken away the candle, than she heard a noise below. She hastened down stairs, to the hall, where the noise was. But it was then in the kitchen. She ran into the kitchen, where it was drumming on the inside of the screen. When she went round it was drumming on the outside, and so always on the side opposite to her. Then she heard a knocking at the back kitchen door. She ran to it, unlocked it softly, and when the knocking was repeated, suddenly opened it: but nothing was to be seen. As soon as she had shut it, the knocking began again; she opened it again, but could see nothing: when she went to shut the door, it was violently thrust against her; she let it fly open, but nothing appeared. She went again to shut it, and it was again thrust against her; but she set her knee and her shoulder to the door, forced it to, and turned

the key. Then the knocking began again: but she let it go on, and went up to bed. However, from that time she was thoroughly convinced that there was no imposture in the affair.

The next morning, my sister telling my mother what had happened, she said, "If I hear any thing myself, I shall know how to judge." Soon after, she begged her to come into the nursery. She did, and heard in the corner of the room, as it were the violent rocking of a cradle; but no cradle had been there for some years. She was convinced it was preternatural, and earnestly prayed it might not disturb her in her own chamber at the hours of retirement: and it never did. She now thought it was proper to tell my father. But he was extremely angry, and said, "Suky, I am ashamed of you: these boys and girls fright one another; but you are a woman of sense, and should know better. Let me hear of it no more." At six in the evening, he had family prayers as usual. When he began the prayer for the King, a knocking began all round the room; and a thundering knock attended the Amen. The same was heard from this time every morning and evening, while the prayer for the King was repeated. As both my father and mother are now at rest, and incapable of being pained thereby, I think it my duty to furnish the serious reader with a key to this circumstance.

The year before King William died, my father observed my mother did not say, Amen, to the prayer for the King. She said she could not; for she did not believe the Prince of Orange was King. He vowed he never would cohabit with her till she did. He then took his horse and rode away, nor did she hear any thing of him for a twelvemonth. He then came back, and lived with her as before. But I fear his vow was not forgotten before God.

Being informed that Mr. Hoole, the vicar of Haxey (an eminently pious and sensible man), could give me some farther information, I walked over to him. He said "Robert Brown came over to me, and told me, your fa-

ther desired my company. When I came, he gave me an account of all that had happened; particularly the knocking during family prayer. But that evening (to my great satisfaction) we had no knocking at all. But between nine and ten, a servant came in and said, 'Old Jeffries is coming,' (that was the name of one that died in the house,) 'for I hear the signal.' This they informed me was heard every night about a quarter before ten. It was toward the top of the house on the outside, at the north-east corner, resembling the loud creaking of a saw: or rather that of a windmill, when the body of it is turned about, in order to shift the sails to the wind. We then heard a knocking over our heads, and Mr. Wesley catching up a candle, said, 'Come, Sir, now you shall hear for yourself' We went up stairs; he with much hope, and I (to say the truth) with much fear. When we came into the nursery, it was knocking in the next room: when we were there, it was knocking in the nursery. And there it continued to knock, though we came in, particularly at the head of the bed (which was of wood) in which Miss Hetty and two of her younger sisters lay. Mr. Wesley, observing that they were much affected though asleep, sweating, and trembling exceedingly, was very angry, and pulling out a pistol, was going to fire at the place from whence the sound came. But I catched him by the arm, and said, 'Sir you are convinced this is something preternatural. If so, you cannot hurt it: but you give it power to hurt you.' He then went close to the place and said sternly, 'Thou deaf and dumb devil, why dost thou fright these children, that cannot answer for themselves? Come to me in my study that am a man!' Instantly it knocked his knock (the particular knock which he always used at the gate) as if it would shiver the board in pieces, and we heard nothing more that night." Till this time, my father had never heard the least disturbances in his study. But the next evening, as he attempted to go into his study (of which none had any key but himself) when he opened the door, it was thrust back with such violence, as had

like to have thrown him down. However, he thrust the door open and went in. Presently there was knocking first on one side, then on the other; and after a time, in the next room, wherein my sister Nancy was. He went into that room, and (the noise continuing) adjured it to speak; but in vain. He then said, "These spirits love darkness: put out the candle, and perhaps it will speak:" she did so; and he repeated his adjuration; but still there was only knocking, and no articulate sound. Upon this he said, "Nancy, two christians are an overmatch for the devil. Go all of you down stairs; it may be, when I am alone, he will have courage to speak." When she was gone a thought came in, and he said, "If thou art the spirit of my son Samuel, I pray, knock three knocks and no more." Immediately all was silence; and there was no more knocking at all that night. I asked my sister Nancy (then about fifteen years old) whether she was not afraid, when my father used that adjuration? She answered, she was sadly afraid it would speak, when she put out the candle; but she was not at all afraid in the day-time, when it walked after her, as she swept the chambers, as it constantly did, and seemed to sweep after her. Only she thought he might have done it for her, and saved her the trouble. By this time all my sisters were so accustomed to these noises, that they gave them little disturbance. A gentle tapping at their bed-head usually began between nine and ten at night. They then commonly said to each other, "Jeffery is coming: it is time to go to sleep." And if they heard a noise in the day, and said to my youngest sister, "Hark, Kezzy, Jeffery is knocking above," she would run up stairs, and pursue it from room to room, saying, she desired no better diversion.

A few nights after, my father and mother were just gone to bed, and the candle was not taken away, when they heard three blows, and a second, and a third three, as it were with a large oaken staff, struck upon a chest which stood by the bed-side. My father immediately arose, put on his night-gown, and hearing great noises below, took the candle

and went down: my mother walked by his side. As they went down the broad stairs, they heard as if a vessel full of silver was poured upon my mother's breast, and ran jingling down to her feet. Quickly after there was a sound, as if a large iron ball was thrown among many bottles under the stairs: but nothing was hurt. Soon after, our large mastiff dog came and ran to shelter himself between them. While the disturbances continued, he used to bark and leap, and snap on one side and the other; and that frequently before any person in the room heard any noise at all. But after two or three days, he used to tremble, and creep away before the noise began. And by this, the family knew it was at hand; nor did the observation ever fail. A little before my father and mother came into the hall, it seemed as if a very large coal was violently thrown upon the floor and dashed all in pieces: but nothing was seen. My father then cried out, "Suky, do you not hear? All the pewter is thrown about the kitchen." But when they looked, all the pewter stood in its place. There then was a loud knocking at the back-door. My father opened it, but saw nothing. It was then at the fore-door. He opened that; but it was still lost labour. After opening first the one, then the other several times, he turned and went up to bed. But the noises were so violent all over the house, that he could not sleep till four in the morning.

Several gentlemen and clergymen now earnestly advised my father to quit the house. But he constantly answered, "No; let the devil flee from me: I will never flee from the devil." But he wrote to my eldest brother at London to come down. He was preparing so to do, when another letter came, informing him the disturbances were over; after they had continued (the latter part of the time day and night) from the second of December to the end of January.

NOTE VIII. Page 32.

Thomas à Kempis.

Mr. Butler (in whose biographical works the reader may find a well-digested account of the life and writings of Thomas à Kempis) says that more than an hundred and fifty treatises concerning the author of The Imitation had been printed, before Du Pin wrote his dissertation upon the subject. The controversy has been renewed in the present century. There is a *Dissertazione Epistolare intorno all' Autore del Libro De Imitatione Christi* annexed to a dissertation upon the birth-place of Columbus (Florence, 1808). A treatise upon sixty French translations of The Imitation was published at Paris, April 14, 1813, by Ant. Alex. Barbier, *Bibliothecaire de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi.* Mr. Butler says, "the fear of the Cossacks suspended the controversy; probably it will now be resumed."

A curious anecdote concerning this book occurs in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, (vol. i. p. 236.) "There had been a press for printing at Cambridge (in New England) for near twenty years. The court appointed two persons in October, 1662; licensers of the press, and prohibited the publishing any books or papers which should not be supervised by them; and in 1668 the supervisors having allowed of the printing Thomas à Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*, the court interposed, 'it being wrote by a popish minister, and containing some things less safe to be infused among the people;' and therefore they commended to the licensers a more full revisal, and ordered the press to stop in the mean time. In a constitution less popular, this would have been thought too great an abridgment of the subject's liberty.

NOTE IX. Page 47.

Methodists not a new Name.

"It is not generally known," says Mr. Crowther, "that the name of Methodist had been given long before the days of Mr. Wesley to a religious party in England, which was distinguished by some of those marks which are supposed to characterize the present Methodists. A person called John Spencer, who was librarian of Sion College, 1657, during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, in a book which he published, consisting of extracts from various authors, speaks of the eloquence and elegance of the Sacred Scriptures, and asks, 'where are now our Anabaptists, and plain pack-staff Methodists, who esteem all flowers of rhetoric in sermons no better than stinking weeds?'

"By the Anabaptists, we know that he means a denomination of Christians which is still in existence; and though we have not at this time any particular account of the Methodists of that day, it seems very probable that one description of religionists, during that fertile period, was denominated Methodists. These it would seem distinguished themselves by plainness of speech, despising the ornaments of literature and the charms of eloquence in their public discourses. This might have been known to the Fellow of Merton College, who gave the Oxonian Pietists the name of Methodists, though it seems probable Mr. Wesley never caught the idea. Gale also, in his fourth Part of the Court of the Gentiles, mentions a religious sect, whom he calls 'The New Methodists.'"

History of the Wesleyan Methodists, p. 24.

NOTE X. Page 53.

Expenses of the University

Upon this subject I transcribe a curious note from Dr. Wordsworth's most interesting collection of Ecclesiastical Biography.

"We may learn what the fare of the Universities was from a description of the state of Cambridge, given at St. Paul's Cross in the year 1550, by Thomas Lever, soon after made Master of St. John's College.

"There be divers there at Cambridge which rise daily betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, and from five until six of the clock use common prayer, with an exhortation of God's word in a common chapel; and from six unto ten of the clock use ever either private study or common lectures. At ten of the clock they go to dinner; whereas they be content with a penny piece of beef amongst four, having a few pottage made of the broth of the same beef with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else. After this slender dinner, they be either teaching or learning until five of the clock in the evening, when as they have a supper not much better than their dinner. Immediately after the which they go either to reasoning in problems or unto some other study, until it be nine or ten of the clock; and then being without fire, are fain to walk or run up and down half an hour, to get a heat on their feet, when they go to bed.

"These be men not weary of their pains, but very sorry to leave their study; and sure they be not able some of them to continue for lack of necessary exhibition and relief."

Sir Henry Wotton, writing from Vienna in 1590, says, "I am now at two florins a week, chamber, stove and table: lights he finds me; wood I buy myself; in which respect I hold Your Honour right happy that you came in the summer, for we can hardly come by them here without two dollars the *clofter*, though we border upon Bohemia.

Wine I have as much as it pleaseth me for my friend and self, and not at a stint, as the students of Altorph. All circumstances considered, I make my account that I spend more at this reckoning by five pounds four shillings yearly, than a good careful scholar in the Universities of England."

NOTE XI. Page 54.

Scheme of Self-Examination.

THIS paper is too curious in itself, and in its style too characteristic of Wesley, to be omitted here. It is entitled

Love of God and Simplicity; means of which are Prayer and Meditation.

Have I been simple and recollected in every thing I said or did? Have I, 1. Been *simple* in every thing, i. e. looked upon God as my good, my pattern, my one desire, my disposer, parent of good; acted wholly for him; bounded my views with the present action or hour? 2. *Recollected?* i. e. Has this simple view been distinct and uninterrupted? Have I done any thing without a previous perception of its being the will of God? or without a perception of its being an exercise or a means of the virtue of the day? Have I said any thing without it?

2. Have I prayed with fervour? At going in and out of church? In the church? Morning and evening in private? Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, with my friends? At rising? Before lying down? On Saturday noon? All the time I was engaged in exteriour work? In private? Before I went into the place of public or private prayer, for help therein? Have I, wherever I was, gone to church morning and evening, unless for necessary mercy? and spent from one hour to three in private? Have I in private prayer frequently stopt short, and observed what fervour? Have I repeated it over and over, till I adverted to every word? Have I at the beginning of every prayer or para-

graph owned, I cannot pray? Have I paused before I concluded in his name, and adverted to my Saviour now interceding for me at the right hand of God and offering up these prayers?

3. Have I daily used ejaculations? i. e. Have I every hour prayed for humility, faith, hope, love, and the particular virtue of the day? Considered with *whom* I was the last hour, *what* I did, and *how*? With regard to recollection, love of man, humility, self-denial, resignation, and thankfulness? Considered the next hour in the same respects, offered all I do to my Redeemer, begged his assistance in every particular, and commended my soul to his keeping? Have I done this deliberately, (not in haste,) seriously, (not doing any thing else the while,) and fervently as I could?

4. Have I duly prayed for the virtue of the day? i. e. Have I prayed for it at going out and coming in? Deliberately, seriously, fervently?

5. Have I used a collect at nine, twelve, and three; and grace before and after eating? Aloud at my own room, deliberately, seriously, fervently?

6. Have I duly meditated? Every day, unless for necessary mercy? 1. From six, &c. to prayers? 2. From four to five, what was particular in the providence of this day? How ought the virtue of the day to have been exerted upon it? How did it fall short? (Here faults.) 3. On Sunday, from six to seven with *Kempis*? from three to four on redemption, or God's attributes? Wednesday and Friday from twelve to one on the Passion? After ending a book, on what I had marked in it?

Love of Man.

1st. Have I been zealous to do and active in doing good? i. e. 1. Have I embraced every probable opportunity of doing good, and preventing, removing, or lessening evil?

2. Have I pursued it with my might?

3. Have I thought any thing too dear to part with, to serve my neighbour?

4. Have I spent an hour at least every day in speaking to some one or other?

5. Have I given any one up till he *expressly* renounced me?

6. Have I, before I spoke to any, learned, as far as I could, his temper, way of thinking, past life, and peculiar hindrances, internal and external? Fixed the point to be aimed at? Then the means to it?

7. Have I, in speaking, proposed the motives, then the difficulties, then balanced them, then exhorted him to consider both calmly and deeply, and to pray earnestly for help?

8. Have I, in speaking to a stranger, explained what religion is not, (not negative, not external,) and what it is; (a recovery of the image of God;) searched at what step in it he stops, and what makes him stop there? Exhorted and directed him?

9. Have I persuaded all I could to attend public prayers, sermons, and sacraments? And in general to obey the laws of the Church Universal, the Church of *England*, the State, the University, and their respective Colleges?

10. Have I, when taxed with any act of obedience avowed it, and turned the attack with sweetness and firmness?

11. Have I disputed upon any practical point, unless it was to be practised just then?

12. Have I, in disputing, (1.) desired my opponent to define the terms of the question: to limit it: what he grants, what denies: (2.) delayed speaking my opinion; let him explain and prove his; then insinuated and pressed objections?

13. Have I, after every visit, asked him who went with me? Did I say any thing wrong?

14. Have I, when any one asked advice, directed and exhorted him with all my power?

2dly. Have I rejoiced with and for my neighbour in virtue or pleasure? Grieved with him in pain, for him in sin?

3dly. Have I received his infirmities with pity not anger?

4thly. Have I thought or spoke unkindly of or to him? Have I revealed any evil of any one, unless it was necessary to some particular good I had in view? Have I then done it with all the tenderness of phrase and manner consistent with that end? Have I any way appeared to approve them that did otherwise?

5thly. Has good-will been, and appeared to be, the spring of all my actions towards others?

6thly. Have I duly used intercessions? 1. Before, 2. After speaking to any? 3. For my friends on Sunday? 4. For my pupils on Monday? 5. For those who have particularly desired it, on Wednesday and Friday? 6. For the family in which I am every day?

NOTE XII. Page 58.

Behmen.

JACOB BEHMEN's books made some proselytes in England during the great rebellion. "Dr. Pordage and his family were of this sect, who lived together in community, and pretended to hold visible and sensible communion with angels, whom they sometimes saw and sometimes *smelt*."—*Calamy's Life of Baxter.*

NOTE XIII. Page 58.

William Law.

I AM obliged to my old friend Charles Lloyd (the translator of Alfieri's Tragedies) for the following note concerning William Law.

The peculiar opinions which this extraordinary man entertained in the latter part of his life were these:—That all the attributes of the Almighty are only modifications of his love; and that when in Scripture his wrath, vengeance, &c. are spoken of, such expressions are only

used in condescension to human weakness, by way of adapting the subject of the mysterious workings of God's providence to human capacities. He held therefore that God punishes no one. All evil, according to his creed, originates either from matter, or from the free-will of man; and if there be suffering, it is not that God *wills* it, but that he permits it, (for the sake of a greater overbalance of good that could not otherwise possibly be produced,) as the necessary consequence of the existence of an inert instrument like matter, and the imperfection of creatures less pure than himself. Upon his system, all beings will finally be happy. He utterly rejects the doctrine of the Atonement, and ridicules the supposition that the offended justice of the One Perfect Supreme Being requires any satisfaction. His theory is that man, by withdrawing himself from God, had lost the divine life in his soul, and that all communication between him and his Maker was nearly lost. In order to remedy this, in order in some mysterious way to re-open an intercourse between the Deity and the soul of man; and finally, in order to afford the soul a more near and, as it were, sensible perception of its Maker, the Second Person in the Trinity became man. Law alleges that St. Paul, when he speaks of Redemption says, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself.* Now, he adds, had the Almighty required an atonement, the converse of this proposition would have been the truth, and the phrase would have been *reconciling Himself to the world.*

The narration of the Fall of Man he regards as an allegory. He believes that the first human being was a creature combining both sexes in its own perfect nature, and possessing an infinite capacity of happiness: the Fall, he thinks, consisted, not in tasting of any forbidden fruit, but in turning from God as the sole source of joy, and in a sensual desire for a second self. And in support of this notion he adduces the text, *And God made man of the dust of the earth—male and female created he them*, a text which occurs before the formation of the woman is mentioned. Had it not been for

this fault, Law supposes that the human race would have increased in number as much as it has done, by a certain delegated power which would have enabled man to create others after his own image.

These whimsies, which Law derived from Jacob Behmen, are entirely confined to his two tracts entitled "The Spirit of Love," and "The Spirit of Prayer, or The Soul rising out of Time into the Riches of Eternity." Whatever inference may be drawn from them with regard to his judgment, or his sanity, as a practical religious writer, (in which character he exclusively appears in his "Serious Call" and his "Christian Perfection,") there are few men whose writings breathe a more genuine spirit of gospel love, and whose sentiments and mode of inculcating them, at once simple and manly, appeal more forcibly to the heart.

NOTE XIV. Page 96.

He insisted upon baptizing Children by Immersion.

Wesley would willingly have persuaded himself that this practice was salutary, as well as regular. His Journal contains the following entry at this time.

"Mary Welch, aged eleven days, was baptized according to the custom of the first Church and the rule of the Church of England, by immersion. The child was ill then, but recovered from that hour."

NOTE XV. Page 98.

Members of the New Colony.

The following curious passages are extracted from that part of Wesley's Journal which relates to his abode in Georgia.

"I had a long conversation with John Reinier, the son of a gentleman, who being driven out of France on account

of his religion, settled at Vevay in Switzerland, and practised physic there. His father died while he was a child. Some years after he told his mother he was desirous to leave Switzerland, and to retire into some other country, where he might be free from the temptations which he could not avoid there. When her consent was at length obtained, he agreed with the master of a vessel, with whom he went to Holland by land; thence to England, and from England to Pennsylvania. He was provided with money, books, and drugs, intending to follow his father's profession. But no sooner was he come to Philadelphia, than the captain, who had borrowed his money before, instead of repaying it, demanded the full pay for his passage, and under that pretence seized on all his effects. He then left him in a strange country, where he could not speak to be understood, without necessaries, money, or friends. In this condition he thought it best to sell himself for a servant, which he accordingly did, for seven years. When about five were expired, he fell sick of a lingering illness, which made him useless to his master, who after it had continued half a year, would not keep him any longer, but turned him out to shift for himself. He first tried to mend shoes; but soon after joined himself to some French Protestants, and learned to make buttons. He then went and lived with an Anabaptist; but soon after hearing an account of the Moravians in Georgia, walked from Pennsylvania thither, where he found the rest which he had so long sought in vain."

* * * * *

"In 1733, David Jones, a saddler, a middle-aged man, who had for some time before lived at Nottingham, being at Bristol, met a person there; who, after giving him some account of Georgia, asked whether he would go thither? adding, his trade (that of a saddler) was an exceeding good trade there, upon which he might live creditably and comfortably. He objected his want of money to pay his passage,

and buy some tools which he should have need of. The gentleman told him, he would supply him with that, and hire him a shop when he came to Georgia, wherein he might follow his business, and so repay him as it suited his convenience. Accordingly to Georgia they went; where, soon after his arrival, his master (as he now styled himself) sold him to Mr. Lacy, who set him to work with the rest of his servants in clearing land. He commonly appeared much more thoughtful than the rest, often stealing into the woods alone. He was now sent to do some work on an island, three or four miles from Mr. Lacy's great plantation. Thence he desired the other servants to return without him, saying, *he would stay and kill a deer.* This was on Saturday. On Monday they found him on the shore, with his gun by him, and the fore-part of his head shot to pieces. In his pocket was a paper book, all the leaves whereof were fair, except one, on which ten or twelve verses were written; two of which were these, (which I transcribed thence, from his own hand-writing.)

'*Death could not a more sad retinue find,*
Sickness and Pain before, and Darkness all behind!'"

* * * * * *

Among the remarkable persons in this young colony, Dr. Nunes, a Jewish physician, ought to be remembered: for he used to say with great earnestness, "*That* Paul of Tarsus was one of the finest writers I have ever read. I wish the thirteenth chapter of his first letter to the Corinthians were written in letters of gold: and I wish every Jew were to carry it with him wherever he went."—"He judged," says Wesley, "(and herein he certainly judged right,) that this single chapter contained the whole of true religion. It contains 'whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely: if there be any virtue, if there be any praise,' it is all contained in this."—Vol. X. p. 156.

* * * * * *

The first journal contains a curious story, which Wesley relates not upon hearsay, but from his own knowledge. "'A servant of Mr. Bradley's sent to desire to speak with me. 'Going to him I found a young man ill, but perfectly sensible. He desired the rest to go out, and then said, 'On Thursday night, about eleven o'clock, being in bed, but broad awake, I heard one calling aloud, "Peter! Peter Wright!" and looking up, the room was as light as day, and I saw a man in very bright clothes stand by the bed, who said, "Prepare yourself; for your end is nigh;" and then immediately all was dark as before.' I told him, 'the advice was good, whencesoever it came.' In a few days he was recovered from his illness: his whole temper was changed as well as his life; and so continued to be, till after three or four weeks he relapsed and died in peace."

NOTE XVI. Page 166.

The Light of Christ shining in different Degrees under different Dispensations.

Upon this point there is a curious coincidence of opinion between Wesley, and one who if they had been contemporaries would have been a far more formidable antagonist than any that ever grappled with him in controversy. "I have often," says South, "been induced to think that if we should but strip things of mere words and terms, and reduce notions to realities, there would be found but little difference (so far as it respects man's understanding) between the *intellectus agens* asserted by some philosophers, and the *universal grace*, or *common assistances of the Spirit*, asserted by some divines (and particularly by John Goodwin, calling it the Pagan's debt and dowry); and that the assertors of both of them seem to found their several assertions upon much the same ground; namely, upon their apprehension of the *natural impotence* of the soul of man, immersed in *matter*, to raise itself to such spiritual

and sublime operations, as we find it does, without the assistance of some higher and divine principle.—Vol. IV. p. 362.

NOTE XVII. Page 168.

Wesley dates his Conversion.

PHILIP HENRY "would blame those who laid so much stress on people's knowing the exact time of their conversion, which he thought was with many not possible to do. Who can so soon be aware of the day-break, or of the springing up of the seed sown? The work of grace is better known in its effects than in its causes.

He would sometimes illustrate this by that saying of the blind man to the Pharisees, who were so critical in examining the recovery of his sight: this and the other I know not concerning it, but "this one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see."

NOTE XVIII. Page 178.

Comenius.

"THAT brave old man Johannes Amos Comenius, the fame of whose worth hath been trumpeted as far as more than three languages (whereas every one is indebted to his *Janua*) could carry it; was agreed withal by our Mr. Winthrop in his travels through the Low Countries, to come over into New England and illuminate this college (Harward) and country in the quality of a President: but the solicitations of the Swedish ambassador diverting him another way, that incomparable Moravian became not an American."—*Cotton Mather's Magnalia*, B. IV. p. 128.

NOTE XIX. Page 200.

Moravian Marriages.

MARRIAGE is enumerated in one of the Moravian Hymns among the services of danger for which the brethren are to hold themselves prepared.—

> "You as yet single and but little tied,
> Invited to the supper with the bride,
> That like the former warriors each may stand
> Ready for land, sea, marriage at command."

NOTE XX. Page 203.

Fanatical Language of the Moravians.

THE circumstance which gave occasion to much of their objectionable language is thus stated by Crantz, as having been "evidently directed by Providence. The Count having thrown some papers, which were of no further use, into the fire, they were all consumed, excepting one small billet, on which was written the daily word for the 14th of February; —'He chuses us to be his inheritance, the excellency of Jacob whom he loveth.' (Psal. xlvii. 4. according to Luther's version.) Under which the old Lutheran verse stood:

> 'O let us in thy nail-prints see
> Our pardon and election free.'

"All the brethren and sisters who saw this billet, the only one which remained unconsumed among the cinders, were filled with a child-like joy; and it gave them an occasion to an heart-felt conversation with each other upon the wounds of Jesus, which was attended with such a blessed effect, as to make an happy alteration in their way of thinking and

type of doctrine. The Count composed upon this verse the incomparable hymn,

> 'Jesu, our glorious Head and Chief,
> Sweet object of our heart's belief!
> O let us in thy nail-prints see
> Our pardon and election free,'" &c.
>
> *History of the Brethren*, p. 180.

I can produce but one sample of their strains upon this favourite subject, which would not be utterly offensive to every sane mind:

> "How bright appeareth the Wounds-Star
> In Heaven's firmament from far!
> And round the happy places
> Of the true Wounds-Church here below,
> In at each window they shine so
> Directly on our faces.
> Dear race of grace,
> Sing thou hymns on
> Four Holes crimson
> And side pierced,
> Bundle this of all the Blessed."

Many of the translations in the volume of their hymns have evidently been made by Germans:—this I believe to have been one, and suppose that the German by help of his dictionary found out bundle and burden to mean the same thing, and therefore happily talks of the *bundle* of a song.

The most characteristic parts of the Moravian hymns are too shocking to be inserted here: even in the humours and extravagances of the Spanish religious poets, there is nothing which approaches to the monstrous perversion of religious feeling in these astonishing productions. The Editor says, "Our Brethren and Sisters who have made

these Hymns are mostly simple and unlearned people, who have wrote them down at the time when the matters therein expressed were lively to their hearts; and therefore they are without art, or the niceties usually expected in poetry: yet notwithstanding to every heart that knows, or desires to know Christ, we doubt not but they will afford some satisfaction and comfort of a much better kind." The book indeed is not a little curious as a literary, or illiterary composition. The copy which I possess is of the third edition, printed for James Hutton, 1746.

Of their silliness I subjoin only such a specimen as may be read without offence.

"What is now to children the dearest thing here?—
To be the Lamb's lambkins and chickens most dear.
Such lambkins are nourish'd with food which is best,
Such chickens sit safely and warm in the nest."

* * * * * *

"And when Satan at an hour
Comes our chickens to devour,
Let the children's angels say,
'These are Christ's chicks,—go thy way.'"

* * * * * *

The following pye-bald composition is probably unique in its kind. It is intended for the Jews.

"Isróel! to thy Husband turn again;
He will deliver thee from curse and ban.
The *Séphcr*[1] *Crisus* he abolish'd hath,
And will anew himself with thee betroth.
The *Lo*[2] *ruchamo* mercy shall receive,
Because the [3]*Méliz* spoke for her relief.

[1] The letter of divorcement. [2] Hosea, i. 6. [3] The Mediator.

He for Isról with God did intercede,
And for us [4] *Poschim* did for [5] *Chesed* plead.
For our [6] *Cappóré* he did shed his blood,
Which from the [7] *Kodesh* now streams like a flood,
And washeth us quite clean from every sin;
We shall *Raphúé* [8] *Schlema* find therein.
The [9] *Tolah* is indeed *Maschiach* [10] *Zidkenu*,
Did he but come *bimhera* [11] *bejamanu*.
In all our [12] *Zoros* we'll to him appeal,
He that hath wounded can us also heal.
He will his folk Isróel certainly
Out of the [13] *Golus* and from sin set free.
Then shall we to the *Tolah*, [14] *Schevach* bring,
And *Boruch habbo b'schem* [15] *Adonai* sing.

In transcribing this mingle-mangle of English and Hebrew, I perceive the roots of two English words, *sorrow* in *zoros*, *gaol* in *golus*. The first we derive from the Saxon and Gothic; the second, in common with the French and Spaniards, from a Keltic origin: but both appear to have their roots in the Hebrew.

One of the strangest of these strange pieces is a kind of Litany. (No. 398. pp. 749—756.)

Yet even the Moravian Hymns are equalled by a poem of Manchester manufacture, in the Gospel Magazine for August 1808, entitled the "Believer's Marriage to Christ."

"Ye virgins so chaste,
Ye widows indeed,
From bondage releas'd,
Rich husbands that need;

[4] Sinners. [5] Grace. [6] Atonement. [7] The Sanctuary. [8] A perfect recovery. [9] The Crucified. [10] Messias our righteousness. [11] Soon, in our days. [12] Need, distress. [13] Captivity. [14] Praise. [15] Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Hear how I was wedded;
And miscarried then;
Was afterwards widowed,
And married again.

My first husband Sin,
Though of a fair face,
Was ugly within,
Deceitful and base.

* * * * * *

Alarm'd at my state,
But lost what to do,
A divorce to get,
To Moses I flew,
My case when he knew it,
He said with a curse,
The Law could not do it,
It must have its course."

The Old Man is crucified,—the Prince woos and wins her,—

"Then married we were
Without more delay,
Friend Moses was there,
And gave me away."

This is bad enough:—the more loathsome parts I leave in their own dunghill.

An interesting account of James Hutton, who published the Moravian hymns, and is more than once mentioned in this volume, may be seen in the great collection of Literary Anecdotes by Mr. Nichols. (Vol. iii. p. 435.)

NOTE XXI. Page 205.

Certain whimsical Opinions which might entitle Count Zinzendorf to a conspicuous Place in the History of Heresy.

THESE opinions are expressed in one of their hymns from the German.

"Here I on matters come indeed:
O God assist me to proceed
My noble architect!
The holy marriage state to sing,
Among the chiefest points a thing
Which thou thyself didst e'er project.

* * * * * *

"Oh yes! ye dear souls mark it well
Who now within your bodies' cell
The name of husbands bear.
Till we in worlds that ever last,
Of Lamb's brides and of Lamb's wives chaste
Alone the song and speech shall hear.

* * * * * *

"The Saviour by eternal choice
Is of the souls ere sex did rise,
The Lord and husband known;
They for this end were surely made,
To sleep in his arms undismay'd;
Strictly the souls are his alone.

"And in the Spirit's realm and land
As all lies in one master's hand,
One husband too's confest;
The souls be there as Queene doth see,
And they as sisters mutually,
Far as of spirits can be traced.

* * * * * *

"Indeed the sovereign good and love
Could not such solitude approve
For his weak bride, that she
Alone till her high nuptial day
Should tire and pine herself away,
And but in faith betrothed be.

"So he divided her in two,
The weaker forth detached must go,
While the superior mind
And also greater strength and might
For tastes of God's vicegerent fit
On the one side remain'd behind.

"Yet even the weaker part was seen
A Princess in her air and mien;
And that she like might be,
She was permitted to possess,
As her peculiar gift of grace,
Love and resign'd fidelity."

Hymn 283.

Thus much may be quoted without offence to decency.

NOTE XXII. Page 254.

Assurance.

Baxter had none of this *assurance*. Good man as he was, he knew himself far from *perfection*, and had his doubts and his fears. But "it much increased his peace," says Calamy, "to find others in the like condition. He found his case had nothing singular, being called by the providence of God to the comforting of others who had the same complaints. While he answered their doubts, he answered his own, and the charity he was constrained to exercise towards them redounded to himself, and insensibly

abated his disturbance. And yet after all he was glad of probability instead of undoubted certainty.

The Franciscans have produced one of their revelations against this notion of assurance: it occurs in the life of the Beata Margarita de Cortona, written with Franciscan fidelity by her confessor, F. Juncta de Bevagna. The passage is part of a dialogue. "*Et Dominus ad eam; Tu credis firmiter, et fateris, quod unus Deus in substantiâ sit, Pater et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus? Et Margarita respondit; Sicut ego credo te unum in essentiâ et trinum in personis, ita donares mihi de promissis plenam securitatem. Et Dominus ad eam: Filia tu non es habitura dum vixeris, illam plenam, quam requiris cum lacrymis, securitatem, quousque locavero te in gloriâ regni mei. Et Margarita respondit; Tenuistisne, Domine, sanctos viros in his dubiis, in quibus tenetis me? Et Dominus ad eam; Sanctis meis in tormentis dedi fortitudinem, securitatem vero plenam non habuerunt, nisi in patriâ.*"—Acta Sanctorum. 22d Feb. p. 321.

NOTE XXIII. Page 258.

Thomas Haliburton.

Mr. Wesley was perhaps induced to pronounce so high and extravagant an eulogium upon the memoirs of this excellent man by a description of his "deliverance from temptation," which accorded perfectly with one of the leading doctrines of Methodism. After describing a state of extreme mental anguish, Mr. Haliburton says, "I was quite overcome, neither able to fight nor flee, when the Lord passed by me, and made this time a time of love. I was, as I remember, at secret prayer when He discovered Himself to me; when He let me see 'that there are forgivenesses with him, and mercy, and plenteous redemption.'—Before this I knew the letter only, but now the words were spirit and life: a burning light by them shone into my mind, and gave me not merely some notional knowledge, but an experimental knowledge of the glory of God in the face of

Jesus Christ. And vastly different this was from all the notions I had before had of the same truths. It shone from heaven: it was not a spark kindled by my own endeavours, but it shone suddenly about me: it came by a heavenly means, the Word: it opened heaven and discovered heavenly things; and its whole tendency was heaven-ward. It was a true light, giving true manifestations of the one God, the one Mediator between God and man, and a true view of my state with respect to God, not according to my foolish imaginations. It was a distinct and clear light, not only representing spiritual things, but manifesting them in their glory, and in their comely order. It set all things in their due line of subordination to God, and gave distinct views of their genuine tendency. It was a satisfying light: the soul absolutely rested upon the discoveries it made: it was assured of them; it could not doubt if it saw, or if the things were so as it represented them. It was a quickening, refreshing, healing light: it arose with healing in its wings. It was a powerful light: it dissipated that thick darkness which overspread my mind, and made all those frightful temptations that before tormented me, instantly flee before it. Lastly, it was a composing light: it did not, like a flash of lightning, fill the soul with fear and amazement, but it quieted my mind, and gave me the full and free use of all my faculties. I need not give a larger account of this light, for no words can give a notion of light to the blind: and he that has eyes (at least while he sees it) will need no words to describe it."

This is a high mystic strain. But in the account of his death there are passages of the truest and finest feeling. When a long illness had well nigh done its work, he said, "I could not believe that I could have borne, and borne cheerfully, this rod so long. This is a miracle, pain without pain! Blessed be God that ever I was born. I have a father, a mother, and ten brothers and sisters in Heaven, and I shall be the eleventh! O blessed be the day that ever I was born!"—A few hours before he breathed his last, he

said, "I was just thinking on the pleasant spot of earth I shall get to lie in beside Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Forrester, and Mr. Anderson. I shall come in as the little one among them, and I shall get my pleasant George in my hand, (a child who was gone before him,) and oh! we shall be a knot of bonny dust!" I hope there are but few readers whose hearts are in so diseased a state as not to feel and understand the beauty and the value of these extracts.

NOTE XXIV. Page 276.

Ravings of the persecuted Hugonots.

One of the Camisards is said to have "declared that God had revealed to him that a temple of white marble, adorned with gold fillets, and the tables of the law written on it, would drop down from Heaven in the midst of the valley of St. Privet, for the comfort of the faithful inhabitants of the upper Cevennes."—*Hist. of the Camisards*, 1709.

Burnet says (vol. iv. p. 15) they had many among them who seemed qualified in a very singular manner to be the teachers of the rest. They had a great measure of zeal without any learning; they scarce had any education at all. I spoke with the person who by the Queen's order sent one among them to know the state of their affairs. I read some of the letters which he brought from them, full of a sublime zeal and piety, expressing a courage and confidence that could not be daunted. One instance of this was, that they all agreed that if any of them was so wounded in an engagement with the enemy that he could not be brought off, he should be shot dead rather than be left alive to fall into the enemy's hands.

He says also that a connivance at their own way of worship was offered them, but "they seemed resolved to accept of nothing less than the restoring their edicts to them."

NOTE XXV. Page 30

The Druidical Superstition cherished in a later Age.

THE Druids are spoken of in Irish hagiology as possessing great influence in Ireland in St. Patrick's time. Bad as this authority is it may be trusted here:—but the reader may find proofs, as convincing as they are curious, of the long continuance of the superstition in Wales, in Mr. Davies's Mythology of the Druids.

NOTE XXVI. Page 307.

Preaching at a Cross.

—Mos est Saxonicæ gentis, quod in nonnullis nobilium bonorumque hominum prædiis, non ecclesiam sed sanctæ crucis signum, Domino dicatum, cum magnâ hŏnore almum, in alto erectum, ad commodam diurnæ orationis sedulitatem, solent habere.

Hodoeporicon S. Willibaldi, apud Canisium. t. 2. p. 107.

"The ancient course of the clergy's officiating only *pro tempore* in parochial churches, whilst they received maintenance from the cathedral church, continued in England till about the year 700. For Bede plainly intimates that at that time the bishop and his clergy lived together and had all things common, as they had in the primitive church in the days of the apostles."

Bingham, book 5. ch. 6. § 5.

NOTE XXVII. Page 311.

The Papal System.

THERE is a most fantastic passage upon this subject in Hobbes's Leviathan, one of the last books in which any thing so whimsical might be expected.

"From the time that the Bishop of Rome had gotten to be acknowledged for Bishop Universal, by pretence of succession to St. Peter, their whole hierarchy, or kingdome of darkness, may be compared not unfitly to the kingdome of fairies; that is, to the old wives' fables in England, concerning ghosts and spirits, and the feats they play in the night; and if a man consider the originall of this great ecclesiastical dominion, he will easily perceive that the Papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Romane empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof; for so did the Papacy start up on a sudden out of the ruines of that heathen power.

"The language, also, which they use, both in the churches, and in their publique acts, being Latine, which is not commonly used by any nation now in the world, what is it but the ghost of the old Romane language?

"The fairies in what nation soever they converse have but one universal king, which some poets of ours call King Oberon; but the Scripture calls Beelzebub, Prince of dæmons. The ecclesiastiques, likewise, in whose dominions soever they be found, acknowledge but one universall king, the Pope.

"The ecclesiastiques are spirituall men, and ghostly fathers. The fairies are spirits and ghosts. Fairies and ghosts inhabite darkness, solitudes, and graves. The ecclesiastiques walke in obscurity of doctrine, in monasteries, churches, and church-yards.

"The ecclesiastiques have their cathedrall churches; which, in what town soever they be erected, by virtue of holy water, and certain charmes called exorcismes, have the power to make these townes and cities, that is to say, seats of empire. The fairies also have their enchanted castles, and certain gigantique ghosts, that domineer over the regions round about them.

"The fairies are not to be seized on, and brought to answer for the hurt they do; so also the ecclesiastiques vanish away from the tribunals of civill justice.

"The ecclesiastiques take from young men, the use of reason, by certain charmes compounded of metaphysiques, and miracles, and traditions, and abused Scripture, whereby they are good for nothing else, but to execute what they command them. The fairies likewise are said to take young children out of their cradles, and to change them into natural fools, which common people do therefore call elves, and are apt to mischief.

"In what shop, or operatory, the fairies make their enchantment, the old wives have not determined. But the operatories of the clergy are well enough known to be the universities, that received their discipline from authority pontifical.

"When the fairies are displeased with any body, they are said to send their elves, to pinch them. The ecclesiastiques, when they are displeased with any civil state, make also their elves, that is, superstitious, enchanted subjects, to pinch their princes, by preaching sedition: or one prince enchanted with promises, to pinch another.

"The fairies marry not; but there be amongst them incubi, that have copulation with flesh and blood. The priests also marry not.

"The ecclesiastiques take the cream of the land, by donations of ignorant men, that stand in awe of them, and by tythes: so also it is in the fable of fairies, that they enter into the dairies and feast upon the cream, which they skim from the milk.

"What kind of money is currant in the kingdome of fairies, is not recorded in the story. But the ecclesiastiques in their receipts accept of the same money that we doe; though when they are to make any payment, it is in canonizations, indulgencies, and masses.

"To this, and such like resemblances between the Papacy and the kingdome of fairies may be added this; that as the fairies have no existence, but in the fancies of ignorant people, rising from the traditions of old wives or old poets, so the spiritual power of the Pope without the

bounds of his own civill dominion consisteth onely in the fear that seduced people stand in, of their excommunications upon hearing of false miracles, false traditions, and false interpretations of the Scripture.

"It was not, therefore, a very difficult matter for Henry VIII. by his Exorcisme; nor for Queen Elizabeth, by hers, to cast them out. But who knows that this spirit of Rome, now gone out, and walking by missions through the dry places of China, Japan, and the Indies, that yield him little fruit, may not return, or rather an assembly of spirits worse than he enter, and inhabite this clean swept house, and make the end thereof worse than the beginning?"

NOTE XXVIII. Page 313.

Plunder of the Church at the Reformation.

"My Lords and Masters, (says Latimer, in one of his sermons,) I say that all such proceedings, as far as I can perceive, do intend plainly to make the yeomanry slavery, and the clergy shavery. We of the clergy had too much, but this is taken away, and now we have too little. But for mine own part, I have no cause to complain, for I thank God and the King I have sufficient, and God is my judge, I came not to crave of any man any thing; but I know them that have too little. There lyeth a great matter by these appropriations,—great reformation is to be had in them. I know where is a great market town, with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pound; and the vicar that serveth (being so great a cure) hath but 12 or 14 marks by year; so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbours drink; and all the great gain goeth another way."

"There are three *Pees* in a line of relation,—Patrons, Priests, People. Two of these *Pees* are made lean to

make one P fat. Priests have lean livings, People lean souls; to make Patrons have fat purses"

Adams's Heaven and Earth reconciled, p. 17.

Thomas Adams had as honest a love of quips, quirks, puns, punnets, and pundigrions as Fuller the Worthy himself. As the old ballad says,

No matter for that, —
I like him the better therefore:

he resembles Fuller also in the felicity of his language, and the lively feeling with which he frequently starts, as it were, upon the reader. Upon this subject he often gives vent to his indignation.

As for the ministers that have livings*, he says "they are scarce *livcons*, or enough to keep themselves and their families living; and for those that have none, they may make themselves merry with their learning if they have no money, for they that bought the patronages must needs sell the presentations; *vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius:* and then, if Balaam's ass hath but an audible voice, and a soluble purse, he shall be preferred before his master, were he ten prophets. If this weather hold, Julian need not send learning into exile, for no parent will be so irreligious as with great expences to bring up his child at once to misery and sin. Oh think of this if your impudence have left any blood of shame in your faces: cannot you spare out of all your riot some crumme of liberality to the poor needy and neglected gospel? Shall the Papists so outbid us, and in the view of their prodigality laugh our miserableness to scorn? Shall they twit us that *Our Father* hath taken from the Church what their *Pater Noster* bestowed on it? Shall they bid us bate of our faith, and better our charity?"

Adams's Heaven and Earth reconciled, p. 22.

In another of his works he says, "They have raised church livings to four and five years' purchase; and it is to

* *Learings* not *livings*, says the marginal note.

be feared they will shortly rack up presentative livings to as high a rate as they did their impropriations, when they would sell them. For they say few will give above sixteen years' purchase for an impropriate parsonage; and I have heard some rate the donation of a benefice they must give at ten years: what with the present money they must have, and with reservation of tythes, and such unconscionable tricks; as if there was no God in Heaven to see or punish it! Perhaps some will not take so much: but most will take some: enough to impoverish the Church: to enrich their own purses, to damn their souls.

"One would think it was sacrilege enough to rob God of his main tythes; must they also trimme away the shreds? Must they needs shrink the old cloth (enough to apparel the Church) as the cheating taylor did to a dozen of buttons? Having full gorged themselves with the parsonages, must they pick the bones of the vicarages too? Well saith St. Augustine *multi in hac vitâ manducant; quod postea apud inferos digerunt:* many devour that in this life, which they shall digest in Hell.

"These are the church-briars, which (let alone) will at last bring as famous a church as any Christendom hath to beggary. Politic men begin apace already to withhold their children from schools and universities. Any profession else better likes them, as knowing they may live well in whatsoever calling save in the ministry. The time was that Christ threw the buyers and sellers out of the Temple: but now the buyers and sellers have thrown him out of the Temple. Yea, they will throw the Church out of the Church, if they be not stayed."

Adams's Divine Herball, p. 135.

"The Rob-Altar is a huge drinker. He loves, like Belshazzar, to drink only in the goblets of the Temple. Woe unto him; he carouses the wine he never sweat for, and keeps the poor minister thirsty. The tenth sheep is his diet: the tenth fleece (O 'tis a golden fleece, he thinks,) is his drink: but the wool shall choke him. Some drink

down whole churches and steeples; but the bells shall ring in their bellies."—*Adams's Divine Herball*, p. 27.

"What an unreasonable Devil is this!" says Latimer. "He provides a great while before-hand for the time that is to come; he hath brought up now of late the most monstrous kind of covetousness that ever was heard of; he hath invented a fee-farming of benefices, and all to delay the office of preaching; insomuch that when any man hereafter shall have a benefice, he may go where he will for any house he shall have to dwell upon, or any glebe land to keep hospitality withall; but he must take up a chamber in an alehouse, and there sit and play at the tables all day."—*Latimer.*

NOTE XXIX. Page 314.

Cures given to any Person who could be found miserable enough to accept them.

"I will not speak now of them, that being not content with lands and rents, do catch into their hands spiritual livings, as parsonages and such like, and that under the pretence to make provision for their houses. What hurt and damage this realm of England doth sustain by that devilish kind of provision for gentlemen's houses, knights' and lords' houses, they can tell best, that do travel in the countries, and see with their eyes great parishes and market-towns, with innumerable others, to be utterly destitute of God's word, and that because that these greedy men have spoiled the livings, and gotten them into their hands: and instead of a faithful and painful teacher, they hire a Sir John, who hath better skill at playing at tables, or in keeping of a garden, than in God's word; and he for a trifle doth serve the cure, and so help to bring the people of God in danger of their souls. And all those serve to accomplish the abominable pride of such gentlemen, which consume the goods of the people (which ought to have been bestowed upon a learned minister) in costly apparel,

belly cheer; or in building of georgeous houses."—*Augustin Bernher's Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to Latimer's Sermons.*

"It is a great charge," says Latimer, "a great burthen before God to be a patron. For every patron, when he doth not diligently endeavour himself to place a good and godly man in his benefice which is in his hands, but is slothful, and careth not what manner of man he taketh, or else is covetous and will have it himself, and hire a Sir John Lack-Latin, which shall say service so that the people shall be nothing edified;—no doubt that patron shall make answer before God for not doing of his duty."—*Latimer.*

The poets, too, of that and the succeeding age touched frequently upon this evil.

"The pedant minister and serving clarke,
The ten-pound, base, frize-jerkin hireling,
The farmer's chaplain with his quarter-marke
The twenty-noble curate, and the thing
Call'd elder; all these gallants needs will bring
All reverend titles into deadly hate,
Their godly calling, and my high estate."

Storer's Wolsey, p. 63.

Thus also George Wither in his prosing strains

"We rob the church.—
Men seek not to impropriate a part
Unto themselves, but they can find in heart
To engross up all; which vile presumption
Hath brought church livings to a strange consumption.
And if this strong disease do not abate,
'Twill be the poorest member in the state.

"No marvel, though, instead of learned preachers,
We have been pestered with such simple teachers,
Such poor, mute, tongue-tied readers, as scarce know
Whether that God made Adam first or no:
Thence it proceeds, and there's the cause that place
And office at this time incurrs disgrace;

For men of judgements or good dispositions
Scorn to be tied to any base conditions,
Like to our hungry pedants, who'll engage
Their souls for any curtailed vicarage.
I say there's none of knowledge, wit, or merit,
But such as are of a most servile spirit,
That will so wrong the Church as to presume
Some poor half-demi-parsonage to assume
In name of all;—no, they had rather quite
Be put beside the same than wrong God's right.

Well, they must entertain such pedants then,
Fitter to feed swine than the souls of men;
But patrons think such best; for there's no fear
They will speak any thing they loath to hear;
They may run foolishly to their damnation
Without reproof or any disturbation;
To let them see their vice they may be bold,
And yet not stand in doubt to be controll'd.
Those in their houses may keep private schools,
And either serve for jesters or for fools:
And will suppose that they are highly graced
Be they but at their patron's table placed;
And there if they be call'd but priests in scoff,
Straight they duck down, and all their caps come off."

Wither's Presumption.

NOTE XXX. P. 316.

Means for assisting poor Scholars diminished.

"It would pity a man's heart to hear that I hear of the state of Cambridge; what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that study divinity, but so many as of necessity must furnish the Colleges; for their livings be so small, and victuals so dear, that they tarry not there, but go every where to seek livings, and so they go about. Now there be a few gentlemen, and they study a little divinity.

Alas, what is that? It will come to pass that we shall have nothing but a little English divinity, that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness, and utter decay of learning. It is not that, I wis, that will keep out the supremacy of the Pope at Rome. There be none now but great men's sons in Colleges, and their fathers look not to have them preachers; so every way this office of preaching is pinched at."—*Latimer.*

"The Devil hath caused also, through this monstrous kind of covetousness, patrons to sell their benefices; yea more, he gets him to the University, and causeth great men and esquires to send their sons thither, and put out poor scholars that should be divines; for their parents intend not that they should be preachers, but that they may have a shew of learning."—*Latimer.*

NOTE XXXI. P. 316.

Conforming Clergy at the Reformation.

"Here were a goodly place to speak against our clergymen which go so gallant now-a-days. I hear say that some of them wear velvet shoes and slippers; such fellows are more meet to dance the morris-dance than to be admitted to preach. I pray God mend such worldly fellows; for else they be not meet to be preachers."—*Latimer.*

Sir William Barlowe has a remarkable passage upon this subject in his "*Dialoge describing the originall Ground of these Lutheran Faccions and many of their Abuses*;" perhaps the most sensible treatise which was written on that side of the question, and certainly one of the most curious.

"Among a thousand freers none go better appareled then an other. But now unto the other syde, these that runne away from them unto these Lutherans, they go, I say, dysguysed strangelye from that they were before, in gaye jagged cotes, and cut and scotched hosen, verye syghtly forsothe, but yet not very semelye for such folke as they were and shoulde be: and thys apparell change they dayly, from

fashion to fashion, every day worse then other, their new-fangled foly and theyr wanton pryde never content nor satisfyed.—I demaunded ones of a certayn companion of these sectes which had bene of a strayt religion before, why his garmentes were now so sumptuouse, all to pounced with gardes and jagges lyke a rutter of the launce knyghtes. He answered to me that he dyd it in contempt of hypocrisy. 'Why,' quoth I, 'doth not God hate pryde, the mother of hypocrisy, as well as hypocrysye it selfe!' Wherto he made no dyrect answer agayne: but in excusynge hys faut he sayde that God pryncypally accepted the mekeness of the hart, and inward Christen maners, which I beleve were so inward in hym that seldome he shewed any of them outwardly."

NOTE XXXII. P. 317.

Ignorance of the Country Clergy.

"Sad the times in the beginning of Q. Elizabeth," says Fuller, "when the clergy were commanded to read the chapters over once or twice by themselves, that so they might be the better enabled to read them distinctly in the congregation."—*Fuller's Triple Reconciler*, p. 82.

NOTE XXXIII. P. 319.

Clergy of Charles the First's Age.

"Let me say," (says Mossom, in his Apology on the Behalf of the Sequestered Clergy,)—"and 'tis beyond any man's gainsaying,—the learnedst clergy that ever England had was that sequestred; their works do witness it to the whole world. And as for their godliness, if the tree may be known by its fruits, these here pleaded for have given testimony beyond exception."

There were men of great piety and great learning among

the Puritan clergy also. But it is not less certain that in the necessary consequences of such a revolution, some of the men who rose into notice and power were such as are thus, with his wonted felicity, described by South:—

"Amongst those of the late reforming age, all learning was utterly cried down. So that with them the best preachers were such as could not read, and the ablest divines such as could not write. In all their preachments they so highly pretended to the spirit, that they could hardly so much as spell the letter. To be blind was with them the proper qualification of a spiritual guide; and to be book-learned, as they called it, and to be irreligious, were almost terms convertible. None were thought fit for the ministry but tradesmen and mechanics, because none else were allowed to have the spirit. Those only were accounted like St. Paul, who could work with their hands, and in a literal sense *drive the nail home*, and be able to make a pulpit before they preached in it."—*South's Sermons*, Vol. iii. p. 449.

NOTE XXXIV. P. 319.

The sequestered Clergy.

"In these times," says Lilly, "many worthy ministers lost their livings, or benefices, for not complying with the Directory. Had you seen (O noble Esquire) what pitiful idiots were preferred into sequestrated church-benefices, you would have been grieved in your soul; but when they came before the classes of divines, could those simpletons but only say they were converted by hearing such a sermon of that godly man Hugh Peters, Stephen Marshall, or any of that gang, he was presently admitted."—*History of his own Life*, quoted in Mr. Gifford's notes to Ben Jonson.

"The rector of Fittleworth in Sussex was dispossessed of his living for Sabbath breaking;—the fact which was proved against him being, that as he was stepping over a stile one Sunday, the button of his breeches came off, and

he got a tailor in the neighbourhood presently to sew it on again."—*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii. p. 275.

NOTE XXXV. Page 322.

Many who sacrificed their Scruples to their Convenience.

"Let me," says South, "utter a great, but sad truth; a truth not so fit to be spoke, as to be sighed out by every true son and lover of the church, viz. that the wounds, which the church of England now bleeds by, she received in the house of her friends, (if they may be called so,) viz. her treacherous undermining friends, and that most of the nonconformity to her, and separation from her, together with a contempt of her excellent constitutions, have proceeded from nothing more, than from the false, partial, half-conformity of too many of her ministers. The surplice sometimes worn, and oftener laid aside; the liturgy so read, and mangled in the reading, as if they were ashamed of it; the divine service so curtailed, as if the people were to have but the tenths of it from the priest, for the tenths he had received from them. The clerical habit neglected by such in orders as frequently travel the road clothed like farmers or graziers, to the unspeakable shame and scandal of their profession; the holy sacrament indecently and slovenly administered; the furniture of the altar abused and embezzled; and the Table of the Lord profaned. These, and the like vile passages, have made some schismaticks, and confirmed others; and in a word, have made so many nonconformists to the church, by their conforming to their minister.

"It was an observation and saying of a judicious prelate, that of all the sorts of enemies which our church had, there was none so deadly, so pernicious, and likely to prove so fatal to it, as the conforming Puritan. It was a great truth, and not very many years after ratified by direful experience. For if you would have the conforming Puritan described to you, as to what he is,

"He is one who lives by the altar, and turns his back upon it; one, who catches at the preferments of the church, but hates the discipline and orders of it; one, who practises conformity, as Papists take oaths and tests, that is, with an inward abhorrence of what he does for the present, and a resolution to act quite contrary, when occasion serves; one who, during his conformity, will be sure to be known by such a distinguishing badge, as shall point him out to, and secure his credit with, the dissenting brotherhood; one who still declines reading the church-service, himself, leaving that work to curates, or readers, thereby to keep up a profitable interest with thriving seditious tradesmen, and groaning, ignorant, but rich widows; one who, in the midst of his conformity, thinks of a turn of state, which may draw on one in the church too; and accordingly is very careful to behave himself so as not to over-shoot his game, but to stand right and fair in case a wished for change should bring fanaticism again into fashion; which it is more than possible that he secretly desires, and does the utmost he can to promote and bring about.

"These, and the like, are the principles which act and govern the conforming Puritan; who in a word is nothing else but ambition, avarice, and hypocrisy, serving all the real interests of schism and faction in the church's livery. And therefore if there be any one who has the front to own himself a minister of our church, to whom the foregoing character may be justly applied, (as I fear there are but too many,) howsoever such an one may for some time sooth up and flatter himself in his detestable dissimulation; yet when he shall hear of such and such of his neighbours, his parishioners, or acquaintance, gone over from the church to conventicles, of several turned Quakers, and of others fallen off to Popery; and lastly, when the noise of those national dangers and disturbances, which are every day threatening us, shall ring about his ears, let him then lay his hand upon his false heart, and with all seriousness of remorse accusing himself to God and his own conscience, say, I am the person,

who by my conforming by halves, and by my treacherous prevaricating with the duty of my profession, so sacredly promised, and so solemnly sworn to, have brought a reproach upon the purest and best constituted church in the Christian world; it is I, who by slighting and slumbering over her holy service and sacraments, have scandalized and cast a stumbling-block before all the neighbourhood, to the great danger of their souls; I who have been the occasion of this man's faction, that man's Quakerism, and another's Popery; and thereby, to the utmost of my power, contributed to those dismal convulsions which have so terribly shook and weakened both church and state. Let such a mocker of God and man, I say, take his share of all this horrid guilt; for both heaven and earth will lay it at his door, as the general result of his actions; it is all absolutely his own, and will stick faster and closer to him, than to be thrown off, and laid aside by him, as easily as his surplice." —Vol. v. p. 486.

NOTE XXXVI. Page 345.

These effects were public and undeniable.

"O!" says good old Thomas Adams, "how hard and obdurate is the heart of man, till the rain of the Gospel falls on it! Is the heart covetous? no tears from distressed eyes can melt a penny out of it. Is it malicious? no supplications can beg forbearance of the least wrong. Is it given to drunkenness? you may melt his body into a dropsy, before his heart into sobriety. Is it ambitious? you may as well treat with Lucifer about humiliation. Is it factious? a quire of angels cannot sing him into peace. No means on earth can soften the heart; whether you anoint it with the supple balms of entreaties; or thunder against it the bolts of menaces; or beat it with the hammer of mortal blows. Behold God showers this rain of the Gospel from Heaven, and it is suddenly softened. One

sermon may prick him to the heart. One drop of a Saviour's blood, distilled on it by the Spirit, in the preaching of the word, melts him like wax. The drunkard is made sober, the adulterer chaste; Zaccheus merciful, and raging Paul as tame as a lamb."

Adams's Divine Herball, p. 16.

NOTE XXXVII. Page 353.

Dialogue between Wesley and Zinzendorf.

This curious dialogue must be given in the original.

Z. *Cur religionem tuam mutâsti?*

W. *Nescio me religionem meam mutâsse. Cur id sentis? Quis hoc tibi retulit?*

Z. *Planè tu. Id ex epistolâ tuâ ad nos video. Ibi, religione, quam apud nos professus es, relictâ, novam profiteris.*

W. *Quî sic? Non intelligo.*

Z. *Imò, istic dicis, verè Christianos non esse miseros peccatores. Falsissimum. Optimi hominum ad mortem usque miserabilissimi sunt peccatores. Siqui aliud dicunt, vel penitùs impostores sunt, vel diabolicè seducti. Nostros fratres meliora docentes impugnâsti. Et pacem volentibus, eam denegâsti.*

W. *Nondum intelligo quid velis.*

Z. *Ego, cum ex Georgiâ ad me scripsisti, te dilexi plurimum. Tum corde simplicem, te agnovi. Iterum scripsisti. Agnovi corde simplicem, sed turbatis ideis. Ad nos venisti. Ideæ tuæ tum magis turbatæ erant et confusæ. In Angliam rediisti. Aliquandiu post, audivi fratres nostros tecum pugnare. Spangenbergium misi ad pacem inter vos conciliandam. Scripsit mihi, fratres tibi injuriam intulisse. Rescripsi, ne pergerent, sed et veniam à te peterent. Spangenberg scripsit iterum, eos petiisse: sed te, gloriari de iis, pacem nolle. Jam adveniens, idem audio.*

W. *Res in eo cardine minimè vertitur. Fratres tui (verum hoc) me male tractârunt. Posteà veniam petierunt.*

Respondi, id supervacaneum; me nunquam iis, succen suisse: sed vereri, 1. *Ne falsa docèrent,* 2. *Ne prave vive rent.*

Ista unica, est, et fuit, inter nos quæstio.

Z. *Apertiùs loquaris.*

W. *Veritus sum, ne falsa docèrent,* 1. *De fine fidei nostræ (in hâc vitâ) scil. Christianâ perfectione,* 2. *De Mediis gratiæ, sic ab Ecclesiâ nostrâ dictis.*

Z. *Nullam inhærentem perfectionem in hâc vitâ agnosco. Est hic error errorum. Eam per totum orbem igne et gladio persequor, conculco, ad internecionem do. Christus est sola perfectio nostra. Qui perfectionem inhærentem sequitur, Christum denegat.*

W. *Ego vero credo, Spiritum Christi operari perfectionem in verè Christianis.*

Z. *Nullimodo. Omnis nostra perfectio est in Christo. Omnis Christiana perfectio est, fides in sanguine Christi. Est tota Christiana perfectio, imputata, non inhærens. Perfecti sumus in Christo, in nobismet nunquam perfecti.*

W. *Pugnamus, opinor, de verbis. Nonne omnis verè credens sanctus est?*

Z. *Maximè. Sed sanctus in Christo, non in se.*

W. *Sed, nonne sanctè vivit?*

Z. *Imò, sanctè in omnibus vivit.*

W. *Nonne et cor sanctum hâbet?*

Z. *Certissimè.*

W. *Nonne ex consequenti, sanctus est in se?*

Z. *Non, non. In Christo tantùm. Non sanctus in se. Nullam omnino habet sanctitatem in se.*

W. *Nonne habet in corde suo amorem Dei et proximi, quin et totam imaginem Dei?*

Z. *Habet. Sed hæc sunt sanctitas legalis, non evangelica. Sanctitas evangelica est fides.*

W. *Omnino lis est de verbis. Concedis, credentis cor totum esse sanctum et vitam totam: eum amare Deum toto corde, eique servire totis viribus. Nihil ultrà peto. Nil aliud volo per perfectio vel sanctitas Christiana.*

Z. *Sed hæc non est sanctitas ejus. Non magis sanctus est, si magis amat, neque minùs sanctus, si minus amat.*

W. *Quid? Nonne credens, dum crescit in amore, crescit pariter in sanctitate?*

Z. *Nequaquam. Ex momento quo justificatur, sanctificatur penitùs. Exin, neque magis sanctus est, neque minùs sanctus, ad mortem usque.*

W. *Nonne igitur pater in Christo sanctior est infante recens nato?*

Z. *Non. Sanctificatio totalis ac justificatio in eodum sunt instanti: et neutra recipit magis aut minùs.*

W. *Nonne verò credens crescit indies amore Dei? Num perfectus est amore simulac justificatur?*

Z. *Est. Non unquam crescit in amore Dei. Totaliter amat eo momento, sicut totaliter sanctificatur.*

W. *Quid itaque vult Apostolus Paulus, per "renovamur de die in diem?"*

Z. *Dicam. Plumbum si in aurum mutetur, est aurum primo die et secundo et tertio. Et sic renovatur de die in diem. Sed nunquam est magis aurum, quam primo die.*

W. *Putavi, crescendum esse in gratiâ!*

Z. *Certè. Sed non in sanctitate. Simulac justificatur quis, Pater, Filius et Spiritus sanctus habitant in ipsius corde. Et cor ejus eo momento æquè purum est ac unquam erit. Infans in Christo tam purus corde est quàm pater in Christo. Nulla est discrepantia.*

W. *Nonne justificati erant Apostoli ante Christi mortem?*

Z. *Erant.*

W. *Nonne vero sanctiores erant post diem Pentecostes, quàm ante Christi mortem?*

Z. *Neutiquam.*

W. *Nonne eo die impleti sunt Spiritu Sancto?*

Z. *Sunt. Sed istud donum spiritûs, sanctitatem ipsorum non respexit. Fuit donum miraculorum tantùm.*

W. *Fortasse te non capio. Nonne nos ipsos abnegantes, magis magisque mundo morimur, ac Deo vivimus?*

Z. *Abnegationem omnem respuimus, conculcamus. Facimus credentes omne quod volumus et nihil ultrà. Mortificationem omnem ridemus. Nulla purificatio præcedit perfectum amorem.*

W. *Quæ dixisti Deo adjuvante perpendam.*

NOTE XXXVIII. Page 359.

Charges against the Moravians.

Upon this subject I transcribe a passage from Mr. Latrobe's late travels in South Africa, in justice to this calumniated community.

"Concessions are the best defence, where we are, or have formerly been, to blame, in expressions or proceedings, founded on mistaken notions. Such concessions have been repeatedly made, but in general to little purpose; and we must be satisfied to hear the old, wretched, and contradictory accusations, repeated in "Accounts of all Religions," "Encyclopedias," "Notes on Church History," and other compilations. Be it so, since it cannot be otherwise expected; let us *live* them down, since we have not been able to *write* them down. To some, however, who wilfully continue to deal in that species of slander against the Brethren, or other religious communities, the answer of a friend of mine, a nobleman in Saxony, to his brethren, the States of Upper Lusatia, assembled at the Diet at Bautzen, may be given, consistently with truth. With a view to irritate his feelings, or, as the vulgar phrase is, to quiz him, they pretended to believe all the infamous stories, related by certain authors concerning the practices of the Brethren at Herrnhut, representing them as a very profligate and licentious sect; and challenged him to deny them. "Pray, gentlemen," he replied, "do not assert, that you *believe* these things, for I know you all so well, that if you really did believe, that all manner of licentiousness might be practised at Herrnhut with impunity, there is not one of you, who would not long ago have requested to be received as a member of such a community."

NOTE XXXIX. Page 368.

Such large Incomes from above.

SOUTH appears to stigmatize Owen as the person who introduced language of this kind. He says, "As I shew before that the ὅτι's and the διότι's, the *Deus dixit* and the *Deus benedixit*, could not be accounted wit; so neither can the whimsical cant of *Issues, Products, Tendencies, Breathings, Indwellings, Rollings, Recumbencies*, and Scriptures misapplied, be accounted divinity." A marginal note says, "Terms often and much used by one J. O. a great leader and oracle in those times."

NOTE XL. Page 376.

Cennick employed at Kingswood.

THIS person has left on record a striking example of the extravagancies which were encouraged at Kingswood at this time. It is related in a letter to Mr. Wesley.

"Far be it from me, to attribute the convictions of sin (the work of the Holy Ghost) to Beelzebub! No; neither do I say that those strong wrestlings are of God only. I thought, you had understood my opinion better, touching this matter. I believe, that before a soul is converted to God, the spirit of rebellion is in every one, that is born into the world; and while Satan armed keepeth his hold, the man enjoys a kind of peace, mean time, the Holy Ghost is offering a better peace, according to that Scripture, 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock,' &c. Now, after the word of the Most High has touched the heart, I think the serpent is seeking to root it up, or choke the seed; but, as the Spirit of God has gained entrance, he rageth with all his might; and as far as he hath power, troubleth the soul with the justice of God,

with fear of having passed the day of grace, or having sinned too greatly to be forgiven, in order to make them despair. Hence ariseth a fierce combat in the inward parts, so that the weaker part of man, the body, is overcome, and those cries and convulsions follow.

"On Monday evening, I was preaching at the school on the forgiveness of sins, when two persons who, the night before, had laughed at others, cried out with a loud and bitter cry. So did many more, in a little time. Indeed, it seemed, that the Devil, and much of the powers of darkness, were come among us. My mouth was stopped, and my ears heard scarce any thing, but such terrifying cries, as would have made any one's knees tremble! Only judge. It was pitch dark; it rained much; and the wind blew vehemently. Large flashes of lightning, and loud claps of thunder, mixt with the screams of frightened parents and the exclamations of nine distressed souls! The hurry and confusion caused hereby cannot be expressed. The whole place seemed to me to resemble nothing but the habitation of apostate spirits; many raving up and down, crying, 'The Devil will have me! I am his servant; I am damned!'—'My sins can never be pardoned! I am gone, gone for ever!' A young man (in such horrors, that seven or eight could not hold him) still roared, like a dragon, 'Ten thousand devils, millions, millions of devils are about me!' This continued three hours. One cried out, 'That fearful thunder is raised by the Devil: in this storm he will bear me to hell!' O what a power reigned amongst us! Some cried out, with a hollow voice, 'Mr. Cennick! Bring Mr. Cennick!' I came to all that desired me. They then spurned with all their strength, grinding their teeth; and expressing all the fury that heart can conceive. Indeed, their staring eyes, and swelled faces, so amazed others, that they cried out almost as loud as they who were tormented. I have visited several since, who told me, their senses were taken away; but when I drew near, they said, they felt a fresh rage, longing to tear me to pieces! I never

saw the like, nor even the shadow of it before! Yet, I can say, I was not in the least afraid, as I knew God was on our side."

NOTE XLI. Page 397.

System of Itinerancy proposed as a Substitute for the Establishment.

During the Little Parliament, "Harrison, being authorized thereto, had at once put down all the parish ministers of Wales, because that most of them were ignorant and scandalous, and had set up a few itinerant-preachers in their stead, who were for number incompetent for so great a charge, there being but one for many of those wide parishes; so that the people, having a sermon but once in many weeks, and nothing else in the mean time, were ready to turn Papists, or any thing else. And this is the plight which the Anabaptists and other sectaries would have brought the whole land to. And all was, that the people might not be tempted to think the parish-churches to be true churches, or infant baptism true baptism, or themselves true Christians; but might be convinced, that they must be made Christians and churches in the Anabaptists' and Separatists' way. Hereupon it was put to the vote in this parliament, whether all the parish ministers in England should at once be put down or no? and it was but accidentally carried in the negative by two voices."—*Baxter's Life and Times*, p. 70.

Hugh Peters's advice was, that "they must sequester all ministers without exception, and bring the revenues of the church into one public treasury; out of which must be allowed a hundred a year to six itinerant ministers to preach in every county." And this scheme was in great measure carried into effect. "Whether these itinerants," says Walker, "were confined to a certain district, and to a settled and stated order of appearing at each church so

many times in a quarter, (for the number of churches in proportion to that of the itinerants in some of the counties would not permit them to preach so much as one sermon in a month,) I cannot tell: but I do not remember to have met with any thing that should incline me to think they were under any directions of this kind, besides that of their own roving humours; or put under any confinement more straight than that of a whole county; nor always even that, (such was the greatness of their abilities and capacities,) for I find some of them in the same years in two several counties, and receiving their salaries in both of them."—*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, pp. 147. 158.

This author affirms, that the amount of the church revenue in Wales, "some way or other in the possession of the Committees, or Propagators, or those whom they appointed to possess or collect them, for the whole time of the usurpation, appears on the most modest computation to have been above £345,000, an immense heap of sacrilege and plunder. Almost all was torn from particular churchmen, who were in the legal possession of it; and no small part converted to the private uses of the plunderers."

NOTE XLII. Page 404.

Thomas Maxfield.

At the Conference of 1766 Wesley speaks of Maxfield as the first layman who "desired to help him as a son in the Gospel; soon after came a second, Thomas Richards: and a third, Thomas Westall." But in his last journal he has the following curious notice:—"I read over the experience of Joseph Humphrys, the first lay preacher that assisted me in England in the year 1738. From his own mouth I learn that he was perfected in love, and so continued for at least a twelvemonth. Afterwards he turned Calvinist and joined Mr. Whitefield, and published an invective against my brother and me in the newspaper.

In a while he renounced Mr. Whitefield and was ordained a Presbyterian minister. At last he received episcopal ordination. He then scoffed at inward religion, and when reminded of his own experience, replied, 'that was one of the foolish things which I wrote in the time of my madness.'"

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY T. DAVISON WHITEFRIARS.

00025394

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 April, 2016